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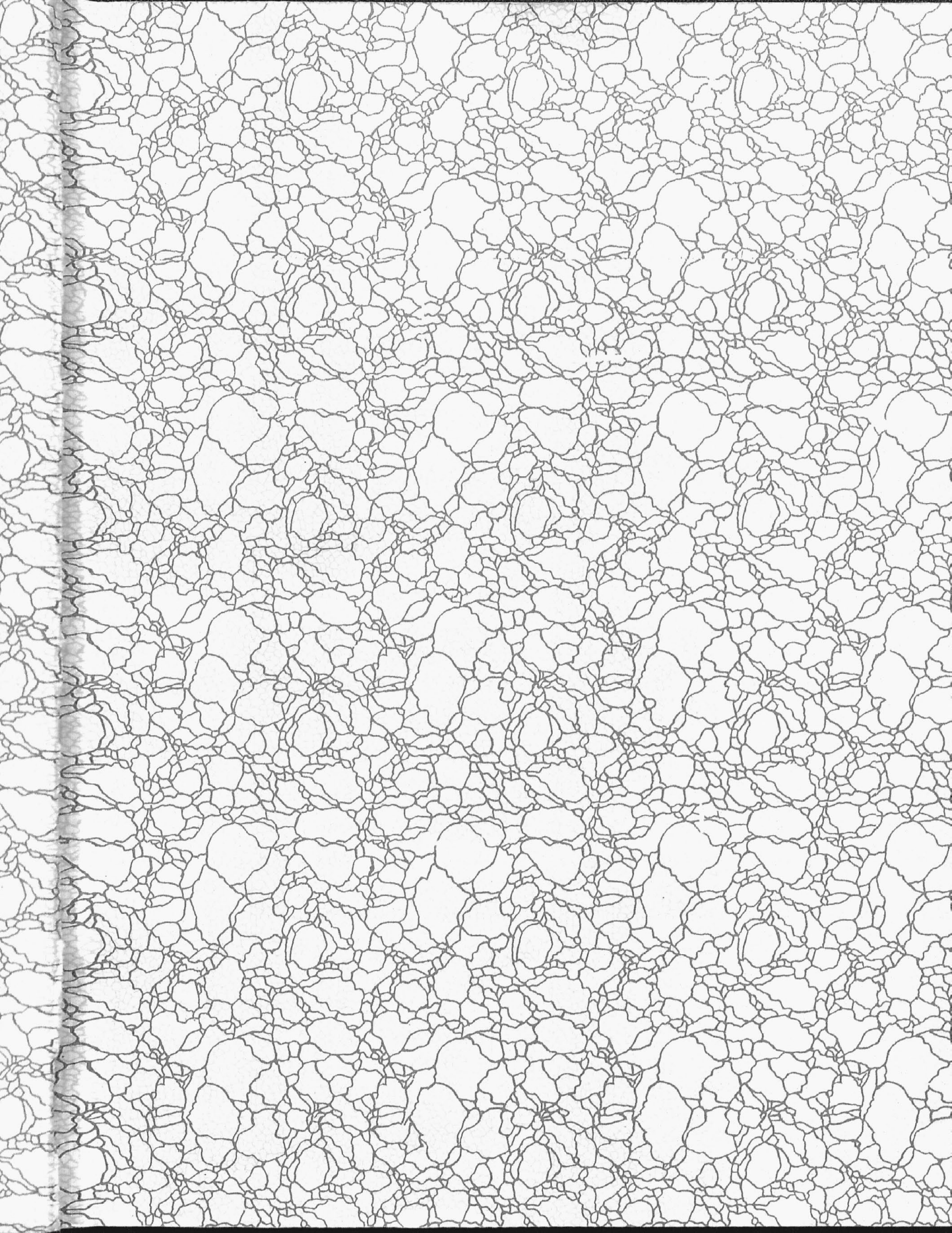
The Kansas University Hours of the Virgin

by Sharon L. Foster

1965

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.





THE KANSAS UNIVERSITY HOURS OF THE VIRGIN

by

Sharon L. Foster
B.A., University of Kansas, 1963

Thesis

1965

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Submitted to the Department of
History of Art and the Faculty of the
Graduate School of the University of
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requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION

A Book of Hours in the Special Collections Department at the University of Kansas has been dated circa 1445, from the region of Langres. The manuscript, which is specifically an "Hours of the Virgin," has been attributed to the workshop of the so-called Master of the Duke of Bedford.¹ This group of miniaturists, active as late as the middle of the fifteenth-century in France, adhered to the stylistic traditions of this Bedford Master, who was so-named after two major works which he executed for John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford and Regent of France (1422-1435).² The purpose of this study is to establish a general attribution for these Kansas University miniatures and to place them in their proper historical setting.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. This Hours of the Virgin was purchased on September 27, 1958, with money from the Solon E. Summerfield Fund. The bookdealer, Mr. Harold A. Levinson has stated that he knows nothing about the provenance of the book, but in a letter to this writer dating February 17, 1965, he stated: "My reasons for attributing this to the Langres area are because of the invocation of Saints Mammes and Desiderius in the Litany, both of Langres. The Calendar also commemorates in gold the latter Saint (May 23rd). My attribution to the atelier of the Master of the Duke of Bedford is because the borders are very similar to others from this atelier. As to the approximate date (1445) St. Nicholas Albergati died in 1443 and was not officially canonized until the eighteenth century. His inclusion in the Calendar, being an obscure and local saint, would seem to indicate that the manuscript was done shortly after his death while his influence was still fresh."
2. The two manuscripts are the Bedford Horae, circa 1423-30 (British Museum Add. Ms. 18850) and the Salisbury Breviary, circa 1424-35 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 17294).

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK ILLUMINATION

The late Middle Ages was a period when art and life were closely interwoven, both often fervently reflecting the dualism of the extremes of religiosity and secularism. This polarity may in part be accounted for by examining the period itself, its history, its philosophy, and its society. Such a background is necessary for the more comprehensive study of fifteenth-century book illumination and more specifically of the art of the Bedford workshop and the Kansas University Book of Hours.

The reign of King Charles VI and the second phase of the Hundred Years' War (1380-1453) encompassed a period of seething disturbances in all areas. On a larger scale the Great Schism (1378-1409) and the Conciliar Movement underlined the problems in the church. Following the first attack of the Black Death in 1348-1349 plague and pestilence continued to ravage France. This was also a time of rioting on the part of the lower working classes, who were now merely wage-earners because the masters had shut them out of the guilds. By 1380 Charles VI, only twelve, was left in the background while his uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy seized the regency and began a policy of administrative corruption. Factional strife resulted in civil war in France between the Armagnacs, on the side of the French court, and the Burgundians. The diplomatic tangle paved the way for an alliance

treaty between Philip the Good (1419-1467), Duke of Burgundy, and Henry V (1387-1422), King of England. The Duke negotiated the Treaty of Troyes between Henry and the mad King Charles VI on May 21, 1420, by which Henry was to marry Charles' daughter Katherine, and to inherit the throne of France on the death of the king. The deaths (in 1422) of both Henry and Charles left the throne of France, under the terms of the Treaty of Troyes, to Henry VI, an infant nine months old. Thus, a double regency was formed by which John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V was regent in France, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, governed England. Even the French mocked the disheartened court of Charles VII, calling him "King of Bourges." This royalty was forced to divide its residence between Bourges and Chinon, in Touraine, while the French parlement sat at Poitiers, beyond the reach of the English. The Chronicle of Paris tells of bands of armed ruffians harrying the countryside ". . . treading underfoot the fear of God and man, they swept over the land with the fury of a tempest. Their only thought was of plunder, fire, and bloodshed."¹ Thomas Basin, the Bishop of Lisieux, relates the following: "From Chartres on the West to the frontiers of Hainault on the East, and to the North as far as Abbeville, all was a desert. A few patches of cultivated land or vineyard might here and there be seen, but rarely, and never but in the immediate neighborhood of a castle or a walled town. Whenever the labourer ventured out into this enclosure a watchman took his stand upon the watch-tower that he might blow his horn on the approach of the enemy, never far distant. So familiar had the sound become, so thoroughly was its meaning understood, that even the oxen and the sheep hurried homewards when they

heard its first warning note."² Few of the greater towns of France escaped from being taken by assault, pillaged, and burnt between 1337 and 1453. "In 1435 only five people were left living in all Limoges. If the smaller towns suffered less it was because they offered less resistance. In 1438, after a hard winter made worse by an epidemic of smallpox, wolves were seen outside the gates of Paris. In that year it was sixteen years since Paris had ceased to be the real capital of France. The next year grass grew in its streets. Rouen, that early in the thirteenth-century had had nearly fifteen thousand inhabitants, had barely six thousand. In 1422 the population of Avallon consisted of five households able to pay their taxes, thirty-six unfortunates, and eleven beggars. In 1444 Senlis, Saint-Nicholas, Gournay, Avilly, Saint-Firmin, Apremont, Malaissise, Rieux, La Noël-Saint-Martin, Bray, Montlévéque, and Oirry la-Ville were entirely deserted. The Fairs of Champagne, Lyons, and Paris were no longer held; the merchant class was ruined."³ The turning point in the Hundred Years' War came in 1435 with the Treaty of Arras, but even with the desertion of the English cause by Burgundy, it was not until October 17, 1453, that England was driven out of France.

The rule of the Duke of Bedford who was Regent of France between 1422 and 1435 was, in general, quite successful. He won several engagements and pushed the English conquests south to the Loire where in October, 1428, the Earl of Salisbury began the siege of Orléans. But English authority was practically complete north of Orléans for only a short while, and in 1435 Philip of Burgundy made peace with Charles VII. Bedford died soon after this upset and was buried in Rouen Cathedral. In spite of the dreadful circumstances, the regent's

administrative actions are to be admired. Bedford reconstructed desolated provinces and he sent to England for farmers and artisans, settling them in the depleted towns and wasted rural areas. He also granted tax remissions on a considerable scale to impoverished towns, called in the base money with which France was deluged, opened the Norman ports to free trade, imported Flemish weavers to revive the textile trade, established a colony of Italian silk-workers in Paris, regulated the markets and the hours of work required by the guilds, and even created a Faculty of Law at Caen.⁴

In view of the historical situation of the late Middle Ages, it was inevitable that both the philosophy and the society should seek new paths which led to a kind of romantic escapism. The mentality of the period was permeated by an aura of mysticism, and an inner illumination of the soul now replaced the alliance of faith and reason of Saint Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologica. Whereas the earlier Middle Ages strove for eternal unchanging verities, now beauty was seen in change itself. Dominican Mysticism attempted to adapt the learning of the church to the unlearned folk, and such mystics as Meister Eckhart (died, 1327) and Saint Catherine of Siena (died, 1380) were extremely influential. "One of Eckhart's followers, Gerard Groot (died, 1384) founded at Deventer the 'Brethern of the Common Life,' who believed that the soul could be united with God in this life and that God granted a mystic vocation to all men without distinction."⁵ The writings of the thirteenth-century mystic, Saint Bonaventura, and such Franciscan devotional literature as the anonymous Meditations on the Life of Christ affected both the religious theater (the tableau

vivant) and the artistic representations of the late Middle Ages.⁶ Apocryphal literature such as the text of the History of the Blessed Virgin Mary had a decisive influence on the artistic portrayal of such scenes as the Annunciation. Also, the new emotions of pathos⁷ and of human tenderness⁸ pervaded this period, and new aspects characterized the saints. "Two hundred years earlier they had worn long tunics and simple, noble garments that lent them majesty and a quality of timelessness. Now these beings, so long remote, graciously approached humanity and adopted the fashions of contemporary people."⁹ Another notable response to the widespread suffering of the time was the preoccupation with death and decay which was reflected in art.¹⁰ Joan Evans notes that the danse macabre seems to have grown out of a late thirteenth-century poem, Le Dit des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs: "In 1422 it was enacted at the Cemetery of the Innocents, some say, by the order of Bedford, in grim celebration of his victory."¹¹

Another kind of romantic escapism was the illusion of pseudo-reality of the aristocracy in the late Middle Ages. In reaction to the outside disasters and miseries, and also in defense against the intrusion of the new bourgeoisie rising against it, the nobility looked to the "sublime" past and to preserved institutions which had lost their meaning.¹² For example, whereas the early orders of chivalry had been founded for the conquest of the Holy Land or the colonization of the Slavic East, the Orders established from about 1350 on were of purely social significance.¹³ This was a fairytale world of stage-like fantasy, of lavishness and extreme luxury at court, of blind passion, and of over-stylization. Spectacular ceremonies accompanied birth, marriage and death. The dichotomous elements

of blood and roses, of cruelty and weeping pity, of asceticism and eroticism, of mysticism and of gross materialism, and of the fear of hell along with the most naive joy, coexisted in this frightened and weary society. Even more, this was an age of allegory in which the visual image replaced inner content and meaning. "Art was subservient to fashion and life, and life itself was a noble game or a dancing minuet. Liveries, colors, mottoes, and badges were the essence of man. Arid formalities replaced sincere emotion, and as Emerson states, politeness was 'virtue gone to seed.' Finally, even quarrels became conventionalized, and love itself was a formal rite."¹⁴

It was due to the extravagant patronage of this doting society that the art of illuminated manuscripts was raised to the level of artistic refinement. The art of collecting and of establishing the dynasty as the fountainhead of learning and the arts was of special importance to the men at these châteaux de plaisance.¹⁵ The painter was the valet-de-chambre (man-servant), the favorite, the guest, and often the secret agent and confidant of the princes. Yet, artists also engaged in free enterprise, and many of the best were attached to the courts and were also free.¹⁶ It was a fluid age and artists traveled from place to place.

John, the Duke of Berry (died, 1416) was the archetype of the connoisseur-collector and one of the greatest bibliophiles of history. From the end of the fourteenth-century contacts were established between France and Lombardy. John was one of the first Frenchmen to send agents to Italy to purchase works of art, chiefly antiquities in sculpture, inscriptions and vases. His fournisseur of Italian books, Pierre de Verone, worked in Paris from 1397-1421. Also, "... the

Milanese called in French architects to complete their cathedral; French romances enjoyed in Northern Italy a vogue which the many manuscripts illustrated by Italian artists attest; and the notes of an Italian connoisseur of painting named Alchiero, between 1382-1411 (collected by another connoisseur, the Parisian registrar Jean Lebeque) show how important were the exchanges between the two countries."¹⁷ Some of the typically medieval objects in the collection of the Duke of Berry included: ". . . jeweled chessboards, gaming tables, fantastic clocks and timepieces, elaborate hot-water bottles in gold and silver, perfumes in exotic containers, bags filled with lapis lazuli for making pigments, bowls of porcelain and agate, the engagement ring of Saint Joseph, the Gospel according to Saint John written on a piece of parchment 'not bigger than a silver coin,' coconuts, crystals, ostrich eggs, shells from the seven seas, the hides of polar bears, and the horn of a unicorn."¹⁸ Thus, the world of art patronage was one of fantasy and of exoticism. In the second half of the fifteenth-century, however, the role of art patron passed from the exclusive ranks of the old nobility, with their unreal grace and genuinely aristocratic character, to the new aggressive bourgeoisie, hungry for the elegant and refined sophistication of their predecessors.

The collectors and patrons of lay ateliers in the late Middle Ages played a major role in propagating the art of miniature painting. The secularism of society, with its formalization of everything, including religion, effected the rise of a new prayer book for nobility. This new book, a Book of Hours, was a form of prayer book which, as Joan Evans states, was both cause and consequence of the development of private chapels and oratories of castles.¹⁹ "It replaced the formerly

popular psalter and was in effect a book of private devotions written by laymen for laymen who paid for and could direct the style, the ornaments, even the services they preferred or the saints they esteemed."²⁰ Books of Hours had several important aspects: they were a means of salvation, as promises of indulgences often accompanied them, and they were also noted for their beauty and their money value. Books of Hours were highly esteemed as the gift of parent, friend, or husband, as dowry gifts, and they often contained the record of important national and family events." Finally, beautiful prayer books made especially fine ornaments for this aristocracy which had such a childlike delight in everything that glittered and tinkled. The books were often carried in cases suspended to the arm or the waist.

My Book of Hours, those of Notre-Dame,
 I must have,
 And it shall be such as beseemeth noble,
 dame of high lineage,
 Of subtle workmanship, gold and azure,
 rich and rare;
 Well ordered and well shapen;
 Covered in fine cloth, or in wrought
 gold,
 And when it is opened, to be closed again
 With two golden clasps.

From the French of Augustin Challamel.²²

FRENCH FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK ILLUMINATION

The term International Style refers to the artistic phenomena which were current around 1400 in various court circles across Europe. The fifteenth-century was both an age of cosmopolitanism and mobility, and the centers became in effect melting pots. Yet, the following unique features often distinguished certain countries: the classicism and humanism, with a tendency towards the monumental, in Italy; the love of expressionistic emotion and color in Spain; the combination of genre realism with a more symbolic, spiritual realism in Germany and Bohemia; the whimsical, linear conventions in England; the fascination for naturalistic detail and for the illusion of space and light in Flanders; and finally, the limited space, brilliant and rather strident colors, and inclination for caricature in Holland.

Paris was the focal point for the International Style manuscript illumination. Artists from Northern France, the Low Countries, the district of the Meuse, Italy, and even Spain, emigrated to this center. By the end of the fourteenth-century both an academic and a more progressive tradition merged in the Parisian school. The former, represented by imitators of Jean Pucelle (active, 1320's), was a calligraphic art, ". . . its swirling and involved draperies covering the surface with a maze of undulating lines."²³ This ephemeral Parisian School was one of ". . . precious and refined nimbleness of mind, as well as of forms, always tending to elegance, but to a restrained, highly civilized splendor, and it never gives way to gorgeousness."²⁴ The counter-movement was represented by Northern

immigrants residing in Paris. A refreshing ugliness, a craving for solidity, sturdiness, and a concrete particularized reality contrasted with the generalized and concave Parisian School of Pucelle imitators. Panofsky notes that this ". . . modernistic rebellion was comparable to the Philosophia Moderna of those nominalists who found the quality of real existence only in things 'individual by virtue of themselves and by nothing else.'"²⁵

The combination of this stylistic dualism characterized the height of the Parisian International Style in book illumination. Like life at the turn of the century, art was a culmination of dichotomous elements and contrasts. The varied but united group which has been banded together under the name of the "Peintre de 1402" was representative of this duplicity. Its linear modelling and unbroken colors related to the more conservative, while the figures' gestures and attitudes, their bravura and narrative vigor, and the artists' method of suggesting form, movement, space, and luminosity by a play of light, referred to the new.

A long chain of artists worked for the great Duke of Berry, whose patronage and inspired connoisseurship had a marked impact on the development of French art at this time. One of the most important members of the statuesque and solid progressive school was the sculptor-painter-architect, André Beauneveu from Valenciennes in the Hainault. The chronicler Froissart mentioned Beauneveu in the year 1390 as the director of sculpture and painting for the Duke of Berry. The artist's most famous work was the series of semi-grisaille figures of twelve prophets and twelve apostles, placed at the head of a Latin-French

Psalter of the Duke of Berry (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 13091). It is noteworthy that whereas his instructor, Jean Bondol ". . . tried to enrich painting by plastic values, Beauneveu translated statuary into the medium of painting."²⁶

Jacquemart de Hesdin from the Artois was probably another pupil of Jean Bondol, and hence, he continued the Franco-Flemish sequence in France. In collaboration with others Hesdin worked on the Petites Heures, circa 1402 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 191) and on the Latin-French Psalter, except for Beauneveu's prophets and apostles. This artist also executed most of the Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame, an unfinished work. The tycoon-like Duke of Berry was often so impatient to possess new masterpieces that he seldom allowed his harrassed workmen the time to finish their tasks.²⁷ If Hesdin was the "Brussels Master" who executed the great Brussels Hours (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 11060-61) he was far in advance of his time in his understanding of Italian innovations.²⁸ The Madonna was humanized, in the Italian fashion, and the border decoration broke with the earlier French and Franco-Flemish traditions. "Previously fancy-free rincaux would creep all over the borders and play about rather than enframe the miniature . . . here large quatrefoils consolidate the corners and divide the border into nearly equal sections. . . what had been a decorative border fringe becomes a quasi-functional 'picture frame.'"²⁹ According to Panofsky, the bashful perplexity and contrapposto movement of the Virgin in the Annunciation scene of the Brussels Hours recalled a lost composition by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. "Finally, it is in the narrative miniatures of these Hours that we witness the very

beginning of naturalism in a Northern landscape painting . . . no longer mere props, these Italianate rocks are now sweeping slopes which with such elements as roads and bodies of water, lead the eye into depth . . . even the seasonal changes are indicated."³⁰

The Limbourg Brothers (Pol, Hermann, and Jehannequin) were nephews of Jean Malouel, painter and valet-de-chambre to the Duke of Berry. The three were originally from Guelderland (now Belgium), and evidently they succeeded Jacquemart de Hesdin in office. Two of these brothers received training in Paris under a goldsmith, and all three worked there at some time as illuminators of manuscripts for Guilbert de Metz. Apparently, the three died in the year 1416, probably of an epidemic. The Belles Heures of the Duke of Berry, circa 1410-1413 (New York, Cloisters Museum) was the only complete work from the hands of the Limbourgs. There the brothers probably derived their knowledge of Italy from objects in the Duke's collection. For example, the miniature of Heraclius and the True Cross related to a medallion of Heraclius, acquired by the Duke in 1402.³¹ The Limbourgs also revealed a debt to Italian art in their barren rocks, their Giotto-like kneeling Magdalen in the Pietà, their shepherds in the Nativity who came close to the manger, their Saint Joseph who sat with head in hand, the Annunciation Virgin who crossed her hands on her breasts in a gesture derived from Italian prototypes, their Gabriel who carried a sheaf of lilies, which Northern artists usually represented as a bouquet in a vase, and in their border, with its acanthus scrolls and tiny putti.³² Otto Pächt points out that in this work all figure scenes were set on a narrow foreground, with detailed landscape features providing a kind of backdrop, and practically no middle ground.³³ As Porcher

states ". . . here illumination is still confined to its flat surface, and the vertical plane is tilted upwards. Also, although the daring foreshortening is often incorrect, the illusion is somehow believable."³⁴

Margaret Freeman states that the Duke's ouvriers liked to build compositions on the diagonal, thus creating more dynamic effects . . . they also liked figures in movement. The calendar decoration was confined to a set of small miniatures in quatrefoil frames, illustrating single figures engaged in their seasonal occupations. Thus, the emphasis was on human activity with no sign of any intention to depict the seasonal changes of nature.³⁵ Yet, here the artists figured one of the earliest examples in French painting of an organic landscape, the stormy sky and the raging sea (see f. 168).³⁶ In the unfinished Très Riches Heures, before 1416 (Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1284) both Sienese naturalistic tendencies and a new interest in the color effects of both joyous sunlight and of night prevailed. The March scene revealed genuinely cast shadows. But even more, this opus maius was the embodiment of the International Style. In the February scene the minute naturalism and vigorous buffoonry of the genre rustique contrasted markedly with the manneristic, dreamlike, drooping elegance of the aristocracy in the April scene. Henri Focillon describes these Très Riches Heures as "not art itself, but a certain art of living! A sort of actualized reverie, in which they are both participants and creators."³⁷ "Never reality itself but its ingenious conception and the artist's reaction to it is the point."³⁸ The decorative additions and innovations which characterized the Très Riches Heures contrasted markedly with the simple directness and greater dramatic impact of the earlier Belles Heures--a contrast which well reflected the antitheses in contemporary society.

The Rohan Master, the Boucicaut Master, and the Bedford Master introduced a new fortifying spirit to fifteenth-century art. The latter two apparently collaborated with the Rohan Master for the first fifteen years or so of the fifteenth-century. When they parted the Boucicaut and Bedford Masters stayed together for a period. Porcher states that the Boucicaut Master seems to have remained in the Bedford circle to the end, while the Rohan Master left the group in about 1414 to enter the service of the House of Anjou (Yolande of Aragon).⁴⁰ The three worked for Parisian publishers or booksellers and shared in the illumination of large "history books:" "It was a kind of wholesale production to cater to the demands of customers at a price they could afford."⁴¹ Certain common technical and decorative devices indicate that the three made the sort of artistic exchanges natural among collaborators, but Porcher notes that they retained their individuality and were only loosely associated. "Each worked also on his own and with other less talented illuminators at various stages."⁴² Porcher also states that the ". . . gorgeousness and excessive sumptuousness of the Bedford and Boucicaut Masters' productions betray their need for concessions to the taste of the elegant and wealthy patrons, whereas the great Rohan Master does not change his coat to become a courtier."⁴³

The Rohan Master represented the antithesis of the restful, pleasant, harmonious art of his Parisian predecessors. He was a tortured visionary, a mystic, and an expressionist whose work portrayed melancholy and anguish. Chalky complexions, tense attitudes, naked and emaciated bodies, tortured faces, and veiled eyes appeared notably

in his later work of 1420-25, the Grandes Heures of Rohan, circa 1418-1425 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9471), executed for Yolande d'Aragon and Louis II, Duke of Anjou. This master had no interest in voluminous forms, plenitude of space, and atmospheric perspective. His was a thin, abstract art of linear surface design. Grete Ring states that if this Master of Rohan had no contemporary companion in the world of the visual arts, he had parallels in poetry: ". . . Pierre de Nesson, 'le poète de la mort,' not to mention Villon's 'Poésie funebre' of a later generation. Louis Gillet has aptly called this master "an astonishing mixture of Blake and Grunewald."⁴⁴

The Boucicaut Master (Jacques Coene of Bruges) lived most of the time in Paris and worked also in Italy for the viscount of Milan (1398). His famous work was the Hours of Maréchal de Boucicaut, circa 1410-1415 (Musée Jacquemart André, Ms. 2). Panofsky notes that ". . . the marginal decoration of these Hours fuses the playful freedom of the earlier rinceaux borders with the structural logic of the frames of the great Brussels Hours . . . the corners and centers of the outer margins are emphasized by 'pseudo acanthus' . . . thus, this master is a synthesizer of the minute and secular earlier Parisian art with the sombre, Italianate monumentality (as in Hesdin's work)."⁴⁵ This master excelled in the painting of air and light, with both aerial and atmospheric perspective.⁴⁶ Panofsky notes also that this artist executed both the "opened up exterior" (front wall removed) and the "interior by implication" (substitution of a tiled pavement for natural rock or grass). "His novel 'diaphragm' is an archway or doorway, apparently overlapped by the frame of the picture, which seems

to interpose itself between this frame and the picture space. This hence cuts out a 'field of vision' from the context of reality and conceals the points in which the orthogonals would touch the margins."⁴⁷ This artist was adept at interiors, as he knew how to people them with figures, and he had an instinctive feeling for linear perspective. Porcher notes that the style of the Boucicaut Master was less exclusively pictorial than that of the Bedford Master (see the Annunciation from the former's Hours of Paris circa 1410, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 1161, f. 31). Also, unlike the latter master he used line to sharpen his modelling and he was not afraid to use raw, acid colors. The Boucicaut Master's work, according to Porcher, was more elegant, but also drier and less atmospheric than that of the Bedford Master (see the Annunciation from the former's Hours of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1410-1415, ms. 469, f. 13).⁴⁸

The third member of this group of collaborators is entitled the Master of the Duke of Bedford. Stylistically this master's works were extremely luxurious and sumptuous, with genre, fantasy, and religious marginal scenes and with brightly colored and lively compositions. As this Duke resided at Rouen, his extensive workshop and large group of emulators,⁴⁹ active until around the fourth decade of the fifteenth-century, may have moved from Paris to Rouen. Such an hypothesis accords with the fact that by the middle to the end of the fifteenth-century the artistic center shifted from Paris to the outlying areas. In the North the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good dominated the artistic scene and in France, the Loire Valley and the new capitals at Tours and Bourges replaced Paris.

Jean Fouquet was the chief representative of the School of Tours,

and this artist's achievements had a marked influence on French painting throughout the second half of the fifteenth-century. He was noted for his Hours of Etienne Chevalier, circa 1450 (Chantilly, Musée Condé), his Great Chronicles of France, circa 1460 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 6465), and his Jewish Antiquities, circa 1470 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 247). Characteristic of Fouquet's style were his Flemish open-air effects and the Flemish homely directness of his portraiture, his Massacresque use of light and atmosphere (he visited Rome, 1443-1447), his clear, spacious and majestic compositions which manifested an obvious interest in problems of perspective, and his monumental, solid, sculptural style which bore a closer resemblance to panel painting than to miniature painting. This latter feature helped to pave the way for the death of manuscript illumination in that illumination did not properly lend itself to "monumental" treatment.

✓ Master François (Egregius Pictor Franciscus, active, 1463-1481) may have been the son of Jean Fouquet, but stylistically, the former belonged to another tradition. This artist is noted for his copy of the City of God (Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 18, 19). Characteristic of his style was François' "static bulk, rendered by cross-hatching, and an inclination to bland female facial types and homely and terribly down-in-the mouth masculine ones . . . somewhere toward the end of the heyday of the Bedford workshop--perhaps in the 1440's, other personalities emerged who had Tours antecedents but were working in Paris and who adopted many features which were characteristic of the Bedford style. Of course, they also developed in accordance with other interests of their time--the influence of Fouquet must be

recognized by the 1460's among some of these people. And it was out of this second generation of Bedford-Tours-Burgundy-Paris style that emerged Master François and the lesser artists who carried book illustration to the 1490's."⁵⁰ Eleanor Spencer also relates Master François to Paris and to the Bedford Master "by his vigor and brilliance."⁵¹

By the last quarter of the fifteenth-century the Tours and Bourges style of Jean and François Colombe and Jean Bourdichon became the dominant one. Jean Colombe was born in Bourges and lived there until he entered the service of Duke Charles of Savoy, for whom the artist completed the Très Riches Heures. Colombe may be termed a mannerist in that he exaggerated many of the devices of Fouquet. He carried to extremes the latter's use of color and light, and he used gold with profusion. Colombe's landscapes were in the late fifteenth-century tradition with blue and chartreuse forms, peculiar bent crags, and an interest in the rendering of grass, flowers, and leaves.⁵² ". . . his figures are hard, with closed faces, heavy eyes, and low foreheads; they are dressed in long, thick robes or weighed down with armor; they gesticulate, are pompous and grandiloquent, or else crowd together in compact, monolithic groups."⁵³

In contrast to Colombe's imitation of the Tours style of Fouquet, Jean Bourdichon copied the Flemish illuminators of the Ghent-Bruges school. Such a characteristic appeared clearly in the Great Hours of Anne of Britany, circa 1500-1508 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9474) in which the borders were strewn with naturalistic flowers, plants and insects.⁵⁴

"The 'Rouen' School wildly exaggerated Colombe's defects and

cared for nothing but opulence and brilliance . . . they liked easy, tawdry effects; a profusion of gold and bright colors; and large full-page compositions packed with superbly dressed figures."⁵⁵

Thus, by the end of the fifteenth-century French illumination had lost its originality and had become increasingly decorative, academic, and sterile. Yet, as Porcher notes, "at the beginning of the sixteenth-century, in spite of the invention of printing, the very finest books were still written and decorated by hand, and the best printed books were on parchment and contained hand-colored engravings. Nor did easel painting immediately supplant illumination."⁵⁶

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. James Westfall Thompson, The Middle Ages, 300-1500, vol. II, New York, 1931, p. 996.
2. Ibid.
3. Joan Evans, Art in Medieval France, 987-1498: A Study in Patronage, London, 1943, pp. 267-268.
4. Thompson, op. cit., p. 997.
5. Frederick B. Artz, The Mind of the Middle Ages, A.D. 200-1500: An Historical Survey, New York, 1962, p. 429.
6. Emile Mâle, Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1922, p. 106 (hereafter to be called Mâle, Religious Art). Note also R. Schilling, "The Nativity and Adoration of the Christ Child in French Miniatures of the Early Fifteenth Century," Connoisseur, CXXX, 1953, p. 167 (hereafter to be called Schilling, Nativity and Adoration), who states that the scene of the Adoration of the Christ Child made its appearance in French pictorial art at about the same time as in the theater, Gréban's work of circa 1450 having been preceded by others like the Arras play of the Passion of circa 1402. Emile Mâle, L'Art Religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France, Paris 1922, p. 458, points out that in the scene of the Last Judgment the dead did not rise from a stone chamber but appeared à mi-corps from a rectangular opening in the ground.
7. For example, Jesus was no longer the Triumphant Christ or the Teaching Christ, but rather the Man of Sorrow; the recurring subject was now the Passion of Christ.
8. Both the Master of Rohan and Jean Fouquet represented this new Nursing Madonna.
9. Mâle, Religious Art, p. 251.
10. Mâle, op. cit., p. 141. The Rohan Master executed eight successive miniatures which illustrated this theme (see the Rohan Book of Hours, circa 1418-25 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9471)).
11. Evans, op. cit., p. 270.

The culture of the bourgeoisie was urban, national and secular, as opposed to the agricultural, feudal and ecclesiastical culture of the old aristocracy.

Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character, Cambridge, 1953, p. 68 (hereafter to be called Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting).

J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, 1924, pp. 39, 48.

From the thirteenth-century on other personages besides abbots began to collect.

Panofsky, op. cit., p. 67.

Jean Porcher, French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts, London, 1960, p. 58 (hereafter to be called Porcher, French Miniatures).

F. H. Taylor, The Taste of Angels: A History of Art Collecting from Ramses to Napoleon, Boston, 1948, p. 51.

Evans, op. cit., p. 201.

Edward Quaille, Illuminated Manuscripts: Their Origin and Characteristics: a Sketch, Liverpool, 1897, p. 12.

Quaille, op. cit., pp. 129-130. It is interesting to note that when the Bedford Horae passed from the Duke's wife as a present to his nephew, Henry VI of England, a legal document was executed, so rarely were these works alienated.

Augustin M. Challamel, History of Fashion in France, London, 1882, p. 56.

Roger Fry, "An Exhibition of French Primitives," Burlington Magazine, V, 1904, p. 280.

Grete Ring, A Century of French Painting, 1400-1500, New York, 1949, p. 24.

Panofsky, op. cit., p. 35. This new school was well represented by Jean Bondol (Jean de Bruges), active in Paris circa 1368-1381.

Panofsky, op. cit., p. 41.

Porcher, op. cit., p. 60.

Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," The Art Bulletin, 1956, pp. 192-3. The author asserts that Jacquemart is the Brussels Master, while Otto Pächt in "A Forgotten Manuscript from the Library of the Duke de Berry," Burlington Magazine, XCVIII, 1956, p. 150, says that he is not.

Panofsky, op. cit., p. 48.

Panofsky, op. cit., p. 49.

Francis Wormald, "Les Belles Heures de Jean de France, Duc de Berry," Burlington Magazine, XCVI, 1954, p. 126.

Margaret Freeman, "A Book of Hours made for the Duke de Berry," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, XV, 1956, p. 101.

Pächt, op. cit., p. 40.

Porcher, op. cit., p. 64.

Freeman, op. cit., p. 96.

Porcher, loc. cit.

Henri Focillon, The Art of the West in the Middle Ages, London, Vol. II, 1938, p. 19.

Georg Swarzenski, "Miniatures from a Lost Manuscript: the Ranshaw Miniatures," Boston Museum Bulletin, XLII, 1944, p. 33 (hereafter to be called Swarzenski, Miniatures).

Freeman, op. cit., p. 103.

Porcher, op. cit., p. 67.

R. Schilling, "Review of the Rohan Book of Hours," Connoisseur, CXLIX, 1962, p. 124.

Porcher, loc. cit.

Porcher, The Rohan Book of Hours, Faber and Faber Ltd., London, 1959, p. 5.

Ring, op. cit., p. 27.

Panofsky, op. cit., p. 55.

Panofsky, op. cit., p. 57. "It was the Boucicaut Master who exploited the new technical possibilities discovered in the late fourteenth-century of new agglutinants to replace the normal binding medium (beated egg-white or 'glare') for greater translucency. His red pigments were made more transparent by adding egg yolk to the glare, and he tempered blue with a recently imported substance, gum arabic."

Panofsky, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

Porcher, French Miniatures, op. cit., p. 69.

49. Porcher, op. cit., pp. 71-72, feels that the characteristics of the Master of the Hours of Marguerite d'Orleans, circa 1426-1430 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 1156B) relate this group to the Bedford workshop.
50. Dorothy Miner, letter to this writer dating March 17, 1965.
51. Eleanor P. Spencer, "The International Style and Fifteenth Century Illumination," Parnassus, XII, 1940, p. 31.
52. Miner, loc. cit. See the Hours of Louis of Laval, circa 1480-89, (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9420, f. 51), Porcher, op. cit., plate XXXVI.
53. Porcher, op. cit., pp. 80-81. François Colombe was probably the son of Jean.
54. Ibid.
55. Porcher, op. cit., p. 83.
56. Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE IDENTITY OF THE BEDFORD MASTER

A consideration of the Bedford Master is necessary in this study because the Kansas University manuscript has been attributed to his workshop. The problem of his identity remains as yet unsolved, for in the past historians have unconvincingly tried to put together recorded names with works of significant anonymous artists.¹ Count Paul Durrieu spoke of a certain Haincelin of Hagenau, whose style appears in several works of art which are now attributed to the early career of the Bedford Master.² Klaus Perls stated that Durrieu had proposed the hypothesis that Haincelin and the Bedford Master were the same man, but that unfortunately he had never published the result of his researches on the subject.³ Apparently, Durrieu was not satisfied with the identity of the Bedford Master with Haincelin, for he later proposed to identify the former with the Fleming, Jacques Coene, who lived at Paris and worked on Milan Cathedral.⁴ Here again Durrieu did not afterwards insist on the suggestion. Klaus Perls himself proposed the identity of Haincelin with the Bedford Master. He traced the former's life back to 1398 when the "petit Jean" was minstrel for the Count de la Marche. In 1403 Haincelin was noted as living in Paris as painter for Isabelle of Bavaria; he received seventy-two Parisian sous for having painted the arms and device of the queen on two leather cases.⁵ Thus, the artist's apprenticeship

lasted between the years 1398-1403, and in 1404 he worked with the aged Jacques Coene (the Boucicaut Master) on the Bible for Philip the Bold. Both Durrieu and Perls agreed that between the years 1409-15 Haincelin was official illuminator and man-servant for the dauphin, Louis, Duke of Guyenne.⁶ A silence then ensued until the year 1448 when Haincelin's name reappeared in records indicating that he was working for the Duke of Orleans.⁷ Perls is vague throughout his argument, but was especially weak in his attribution of such panel paintings as the portrait of Jean Dunois and the Famille des Juvenal des Ursins, to the oeuvre of Haincelin (or the Bedford Master) and in his assertion that Jean Fouquet was probably an apprentice in the workshop of this artist.⁸ More recent scholarship undermines the proposal of Durrieu and Perls, and the authorities believe that the identification of the Bedford Master with Haincelin is not at all "convincing."⁹

Opinions regarding the career of the so-called Bedford Master seem to be more uniform than was the controversy over his identity. He was a prolific artist who began his career before 1410 and was active until after 1430.¹⁰ The connection with the Boucicaut Master is well established by the circumstance that in his early stage the Bedford Master is found working on certain manuscripts in which the Boucicaut and young Rohan Masters were also engaged (1405-10). Perhaps the Bedford Master was a student of the Boucicaut Master or he may have completed the work of the latter; in any event, some interchange of studio patterns and techniques is obvious.¹¹

Before discussing the iconographic and stylistic features of the so-called Bedford Master it is noteworthy that his title covers the

distinguishable work of three or four associates. Even the large miniatures in the grandiose Salisbury Breviary are by more than one hand.¹² The miniaturists and illuminators of the fifteenth-century were not regarded as personalities and as individual painters, but were associated with workshops and were craftsmen in business. As the mature Bedford Master had a large workshop, the quality and style even in the "big works" varies greatly. Yet, it is often extremely difficult to separate the work of certain of the painters who pass as the head master, and thus, the term "Bedford group" seems most appropriate.¹³

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE ART OF THE BEDFORD GROUP

The iconography and style of the work of the Bedford group link it to the first half of the fifteenth-century. The former is manifest in the major themes treated and the details of subject matter while the latter relates to the composition of the miniatures in relation to the pages and to the frame, the composition within the miniatures, the organization and representation of space, the figure style, and the borders.

The religious themes follow the traditional organization for the Book of Hours, but incipiently bourgeois elements which pervade the miniature and border compositions lend an air of secularism to these representations. Perhaps this is a derivation from such Flemish artists as the Master of Flemalle, or from the Dutch tradition.¹⁴ In the Bedford Horae are drawn curtains or angels pulling away the curtain of the baldachin, cupboards, flower pots, hangings, and so forth.¹⁵ In the Salisbury Braviary a cat warms itself near the boiling pot and the Child lies on the ground, toe in mouth. Also characteristic is the peasant driving the donkey laden with a sack of flour, and often a windmill appears in the background.¹⁶ Genre and secular elements appear also in the border scenes. Drolleries and fantastic grotesques float freely in the margins as well as within the roundels.¹⁷ These genre elements are characteristic of the first half of the fifteenth-century, as are certain other iconographic details which follow orthodox formulae. Noteworthy are the sheds with cardhouse type roofs, the wattle fences, the interiors with tasselled pillows,

the checkered floors, the canopies, and the servant in the Presentation scene who carries a basket of white doves.

The style of such compositions as the Bedford Horae is aristocratic and splendid. The pages are here actually dominated by the miniatures, which are usually organized in arched compartments with gold rays emanating from above.¹⁸

The compositions within the miniatures are vertically balanced and permeated with lively crowds of people. These Italianate realistic landscapes build to the top of the picture plane with many little scenes.¹⁹

The organization of space of this Bedford group relates to the earlier fifteenth-century. The ecclesiastical buildings derive from thirteenth-century architecture, but relate stylistically to the art of the Boucicaut Master (see especially Annunciation and Death Mass scenes), with similar perspective and attempts to achieve a compromise between exterior and interior elements in the setting. The roof and gables are shown as well as the inside of the room, like earlier Italian and Pucelle arrangements, and God the Father is often above in an aureole of seraphim. The Bedford group also figures an exterior Nativity or Adoration, with an interior implied shed, a device which also appears in the work of the Boucicaut Master. The two traditions differ in that the former relates more to retrospective and archaic features. For example, the spatial unification and the perspective, however illusionistic and believable, is less advanced and less accurate than that of the older artist.

The Bedford group is naturalistic in the representation of space

in landscapes. The mature works manifest changing landscapes, woods and fields under cultivation, and skies which pale towards the horizon.²⁰ This group is also aware of seasonal change, as in the winter Nativity scene in the Bedford Horae.²¹ Another aspect of this naturalism is the characteristically minute treatment of the ground, often covered with grass and flowers. Yet, it is noteworthy that although these artists understand atmospheric perspective, "no breath of air enlivens the pictures."²² Also, although the landscapes are realistic, with Italianate rocks and background castles, the recession into space is relatively shallow, and the Bedford group resorts to dwarfing foreground trees so that they relate to the figures.

The Livre de la Chasse by Gaston Phébus, circa 1405-10 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 616) which is now attributed to the early Bedford Master reflects a genuine, careful study of nature. Scenes of questing for trails, setting snares, traps and nets, and even of the hunter's meal in a forest glade, often figure grimacing dogs, and scurrying rabbits.²³ The Salisbury Breviary also portrays naturalistic large and small animals.

The human figures are solid, plastic, rounded types, and are modelled by color, light and shade, with no precise, pen-sharpened contours. Form, value and color are all important. Certain faces are round and chubby while the facial base is a delicate flesh color into which are painted the shadows in a light gray. A dark pink tone is added on the cheeks. The older men frequently bear divided beards, and certain of the figures are distinct for their clearly isolated thumbs.²⁴ The characteristic Virgin has an oval face, high forehead,

thin eyebrows, small mouth, narrow sloping shoulders, and long fingers. The Archangel Gabriel often has small eyes, small mouth, broad nose and barely indicated eyebrows, ample blond hair rolled in at the back, short neck and squat figure.²⁵ In some of the contemporary figure types and sometimes in the rendering of the swirling hemline drapery, this Bedford group reveals a close association with the elegant International Style. Yet, these artists are able to represent various scales of human feeling--from the almost comical Saint Joseph in the Flight into Egypt scenes, with his crumpled boots and dour look, to the playful Christ Child in many Adoration of the Magi scenes, to the graceful, motherly Virgin in the Flight scene, who tenderly presses her Child to her, to the wildly gesturing ecstatic shepherds in most of the Bedford Annunciation to the Shepherds scenes, to the vibrant trumpeting Last Judgment angels, and finally to the extreme pathos of the swooning Virgin in the Crucifixion scenes. This combination of the International Style lyricism with the more spiritual realism of the emotions is also apparent in certain early works attributed to the Bedford Master. The "indefinable" pathos in the Trinity scene of the Gotha Missal, circa 1410 (Cleveland Museum of Art) combines with the jewel-like colors, intense blue sky, and crimson seraphim. "Despite the multitude of angels in the background, one has the feeling of an intimate scene of very private sorrow and of tragedy." The adjacent Resurrection scene embodies dramatic movement, with its broad areas of a few intense colors broken up into smaller units.²⁶

The Bedford group is noteworthy for enhancing the main episode in the large miniatures with subordinate marginal roundels or squares.²⁷ These popular border scenes and the attached ornament are sometimes

by the master himself and sometimes by his shop, but although often closely linked stylistically to the larger miniatures, the rendering is usually less dexterous. In the incomplete Salisbury Breviary one can readily see that at least the medallions and independent figures are by the painter of the miniatures.²⁸ Perhaps in such cases the miniaturist simply would unite the page by a final going over of the borders and any figures there.²⁹ The Bedford Master may have invented the idea of subordinate marginal roundels or squares, but as this device appears in the work of various Paris studios around 1420 or so, such a statement is merely hypothetical.³⁰

The Bedford group thus relates both to the earlier International Style and to the art of the north. The former is reflected in the curvilinear and decorative types and in the poetic and supernatural charm which looks to the art of the Limbourg brothers. The latter relates to the tangible and purely material features underneath the lyrical, dreamlike world. Such is the heritage of the Netherlandish painters. Stylistically, the robust compositions of the Bedford group also refer to the Flamboyant Style in Gothic architecture.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. See the letters to this writer from Miss Dorothy Miner and Dr. Eleanor Spencer, both dating March 17, 1965. Both have mentioned that the Swiss scholar, Dr. Hahnloser, has discovered a signed and dated manuscript of the Bedford Master which he will publish "during the course of the present year."
2. André Michel, Histoire de l'Art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours, vol. III, part I, Paris, 1905, p. 166.
The works are:
Gaston Phébus, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 616. Dr. E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, p. 384, is dubious about Haincelin's responsibility for this work "and its relatives."
Terence dit des Ducs, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 664.
Two Bibles Historiales from the Bibliothèque Royal de Bruxelles (9001-9002; 9024-9025).
A miniature in the Grandes Heures of the Duke of Berry,
"The Duke de Berry introduced by Saint Peter to Paradise."
3. Klaus Perls, "Le Tableau de la Famille des Juvenal des Ursins; Le Maître du duc de Bedford et Haincelin de Haguonau," Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne, LX, 1935, p. 178.
4. Jean Porcher, French Miniatures, p. 71. Also see Durrieu in Les Arts Anciens de Flandre, 1906, pp. 5ff.
5. Perls, loc. cit.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. See the following:
Grete Ring, "Primitifs Français," Gazette des Beaux Arts, XIX, 1938, p. 150.

Ernst Trenkler, Livres d'Heures, Wien, p. 15.

Erwin Panofsky, loc. cit. He also feels that the identity of Haincelin with "Jean Haincelin," mentioned as late as 1448, does not seem likely. "Possibly he was a son or pupil of the real "Petit Jean."

Jacques Bacri, "French Illuminated Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries," Connoisseur, CXXXIII, 1956, p. 189.

Eleanor Spencer, letter to this writer, March 17, 1965.

Dorothy Miner, letter to this writer, March 17, 1965.

10. Porcher, op. cit., p. 67. See also David M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," The Art Bulletin, XVIII, 1936, p. 501.
11. Both Miss Miner and Dr. Spencer verify this, loc. cit. Grete Ring, op. cit., p. 154, notes that the Bedford Master continues the tradition of the Boucicaut Master, as does E. Trenkler, op. cit., pp. 15, 20, who notes such an influence but also sees the Bedford Master as the first of a chain to link with Fouquet. Trenkler underlines his disapproval of the recently "too liberal" attributions to the Bedford Master. R. Schilling, Nativity and Adoration, p. 221, states that the Bedford Master was an artist of the second generation who built his copious style from elements compiled from the art of the elder master, and that he was probably a student of the Boucicaut Master. Millard Meiss, Exhibition, p. 196, places the Boucicaut Master above the Rohan and Bedford Masters and he links the two latter by their declared desire for a "livelier, more emotional art, capable of communicating the darker aspects of life and the mind."
12. Miner, loc. cit., and Spencer, loc. cit.
13. This is not to say that all of the Bedford workshop products are exact duplicates of the master's work. Ernst Trenkler, "A Newly Discovered Book of Hours by the Master of the Duke of Bedford," Gazette des Beaux Arts, XLIII, 1954, p. 33, even categorized the distinguishable workshop art as "mannered, hastily executed, insipid, dry, and prosaic rather than poetic." As in the Crucifixion scene in Austrian National Library Manuscript 1840, this scholar described the workshop skies as flatly blue and covered with stars in a geometric order, while the landscapes lacked depth (see the Flight into Egypt in Austrian National Library Manuscript 2614).
14. Panofsky, op. cit., p. 74, states that the Bedford Master yields to the influence of Flemish panel painting towards the end of his career (see the Salisbury Breviary). Similarly, Colin Eisler, "Portrait of the artist as St. Luke," Art News, LVIII, 1959, p. 55, notes that the manuscript attributed to the Bedford Master family of Lille (1430-35) reflects the composition of the Mérode Altarpiece by the Master of Flémalle (The Cloisters, circa 1425-28). It is interesting that both the above manuscript and the Pierpont Morgan Manuscript 453 (1430's) reveal the influence of Jacopo da Voragine's The Golden Legend, in which Saint Luke is described as "as skilled in the art of painting as in that of medicine." Miss Dorothy Miner, loc. cit., states her belief that the Bedford Master

will turn out to be a northerner, and she affirms Panofsky's thesis about the strong heritage of Netherlandish traits in the Bedford miniatures. Dr. Spencer, loc. cit., believes that the basic style is Dutch, adapted to Parisian tastes, but she states "I base this less upon resemblances to the Master of Flémalle than upon elements in Dutch illumination which are yet not fully published." She states that L. M. J. Delaissé has a book on Dutch pictorial style of the fifteenth-century which should be off the press soon (University of California).

5. Also see especially the Annunciation and Nativity scenes of Austrian National Library Manuscripts 1855 (ca. 1420), 2614 (ca. 1420), 1840 (ca. 1420). See also the Salisbury Breviary.
6. See the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the Holford Hours in New York. Georg Swarzenski, Miniatures, p. 31. Note, however, that as R. Schilling points out, "An unknown French Book of Hours," Burlington Magazine, LXXXIV, 1944, p. 23, the Ranshaw miniature of the Annunciation to the Shepherds figures a hilly landscape with a serpentine road on which a labourer drives a donkey to the windmill on top. Thus, the appearance of such a motif in the Bedford group is not unique.
7. See especially Ms. 1855 and Ms. 453. In the latter, the following are only a few of the types which inhabit the borders: an owl, a curious porcupine, griffins, dragons, storks, a rooster or cock, flower and snail men, a scene of a woman beating her son with stalks, a monkey-like creature, mermaids and mermen, a man slaying a giant snail, fighting dragons, a woman churning butter, and a fox with a bird in its mouth.
8. D. H. Turner, "The Bedford Hours and Psalter," Apollo, LXXVI, 1962, p. 267.
9. Schilling, loc. cit., accords with Porcher and states that hence, the rare scene of the Magi at the Cross Road is added to the Salisbury Breviary Adoration, "although the figure composition here is rather retrospective, with the Virgin and Child, ox and ass, right in front, recalling the scene of the Très Belles Heures in Brussels."

Also, note the inclusion of the on-looking shepherds in Nativity scenes of the Bedford group. They either peek through windows or from behind wattle fences.

Note: for vertically balanced Bedford compositions see especially the scenes of the Nativity, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Last Judgment in the Horae, the Salisbury Breviary, and the Austrian National Library Ms. 1855. For lively and many-peopled Bedford compositions see especially the Adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment scenes in the Horae; the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Nativity, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Last Judgment scenes in Ms. 1855; and the Adoration of the Magi scenes in the Salisbury Breviary.

20. As Miss Miner notes, loc. cit., the significant early experiments in the treatment of skies and landscapes were in the first decades of the fifteenth-century.
21. This might well have derived from the winter Calendar scene in the Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry (circa 1413-16, Musée Condé, Chantilly, France).
22. Porcher, loc. cit.
23. The acute observation of animals in the Livre de la Chasse contrasts with the comparatively flat, conventional background of tessellated or brocaded patterns. This youthful Bedford Master displays a lack of interest and understanding of space, depth or perspective.
24. Neither of these traits is unique or unusual for the fifteenth-century.
25. Trenkler, op. cit., p. 32.
26. William Wixom, "Missal for a King: An Introduction to the Gotha Missal," Cleveland Museum Bulletin, L, 1963, pp. 160-161.
27. Note in the Horae that at various intervals appear miniatures set against border branches of Bedford's badge of juniper and scrolls of his motto A vous entier, and that of his wife, Anne, J'en suis contente.
28. Spencer, loc. cit.
29. Miner, loc. cit.
30. Ibid. Porcher, op. cit., p. 69, agrees with Miss Miner. Note however, that R. Schilling, loc. cit., attributes the historiated borders to the Boucicaut Master. Yet, her argument loses its effectiveness because of her hasty attribution to the latter of such Bedford features as the figure compositions and certain of the figure types (the Horae Adoration Saint Joseph and the Shepherds).

CHAPTER III .

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE KANSAS HOURS

Since no documentary evidence or other external information regarding the Kansas University Book of Hours exists, the internal features of the manuscript must be of prime consideration to the student of Medieval illumination. After a careful critical analysis of the miniatures and the border ornament of this Book of Hours and of microfilm positives of certain works attributed to the Bedford Master and his workshop, it is apparent that the Kansas University Hours comes from a later period and from a tradition removed from the realm of the Bedford group.¹

The major themes in the Kansas Book of Hours follow a traditional scheme for Books of Hours.² The exception here is the omission of the Visitation scene which so frequently appears in these prayer books. The subject matter of the miniatures is directly religious rather than symbolical or mystical, and only twice is the spirituality interrupted by secular drolleries.³ Iconographic details also relate to the orthodox conventions of the fifteenth-century. Often above is a bust of God the Father looking down, or of an angel with a banner. Landscapes figure relatively few foreground figures, middle ground barren rocks, and background castellated hills dotted with foliage, windmills, and in one instance, a microscopic figure hangs from a gallows.⁴ The arched and arcaded windows and doorways of these settings recall Italian architectural modes. Finally, the

interiors portray such popular elements as checkered floors, tasseled pillows, foreshortened wooden desks and tables, canopies, curtains, brocaded backdrops, and the older Parisian tessellated screens. The Nativity scene manifests a thatched shed roof pierced with holes in the manner of the Dijon Nativity by the Master of Flémalle. Also, in the scene of the Presentation in the Temple the figure of the servant with her basket of white doves is strangely reminiscent of Netherlandish figures. Again, in the latter scene the angel lute player bears a certain resemblance to similar figures in the Flemish tradition.

A stylistic analysis of the composition, organization and representation of space, figure style, and the coloring of the Kansas miniatures and borders relates also to the tradition of the late Middle Ages. The miniatures are organized in arched compartments, frequently with gold rays extending from the top of the page. This miniature art approximates panel painting, for the large representations certainly dominate the script, limiting it in the large miniatures to three lines. Also as in panel painting horizons and backgrounds tilt down almost to eye level. The assymetrical composition within the Kansas miniatures is linear rather than painterly, restrained rather than vigorous. The closed landscapes consist of zigzags and diagonal recessions into space which are softened by the winding roads. The closed interior composition is also assymetrical, but here the foreshortened furniture often recedes at a sharp diagonal to its middle ground backdrop. The figures are usually at right angles to the picture plane and help to effect the diagonal in the composition. Also, the drapery hemline flutters, the assymetric sweep of an angel's wings, and the curling banderolle animate the miniatures. On the other hand, the calm presence

of these quiet, elusive figures mellows any disjunction in the composition.

The organization and representation of space reflects features which are common in the latter half of the fifteenth-century. The scenes either take place in a full landscape or in an interior shed or temple with regal cloth and canopy for elegance. Also, the interiors sometimes portray views into the exterior vistas, through windows, roof holes, or arched doorways.

As was inferred in connection with iconography, the artist manifests an awareness of nature, with his nearby trees on which the leaves and yellow flowers are softly picked out, and his eye for minutiae in the background.⁵ The landscapes are deeply recessed and compose misty, illusionistic far distant vistas, thus portraying a sophisticated understanding of atmospheric perspective. The painting of the sky relates to the earlier Boucicaut Master's subtle modulation of light and shade: a rich cobalt blue pales at the horizon. Both his blue distances and pale horizons illustrate the naturalism of this artist, but by this time, such a treatment was a matter of routine convention.⁶ On the other hand, this Kansas artist is yet an experimenter. His foregrounds and middle grounds are often awkward because in some scenes the artist resorts to dwarfing those clump-like trees which are near the front of the picture plane.⁷

The interiors experiment with foreshortened furniture, and green checkered floors reflect an understanding of linear perspective. This master's device of accentuating the interior enclosure of a room by opening a window or doorway upon a vista beyond is a method of implied space which relates to Netherlandish traditions.⁸ Yet,

as with the landscapes, the interiors refer to conventions of the fourteenth-century. This is especially apparent in the use of the tessellated screens and the brocaded backdrops.⁹

✓The figure style also connects the Kansas Hours with the latter half of the fifteenth-century. The artist retains certain conventional figure types, all of which are relatively solid sculptural figures in the late Gothic tradition and many of which are seated on a mass of rather calligraphic, crinkled drapery. The garments are modeled by color, light and shade, and especially vermilion colored and brown colored garments and bodies are often highlighted by gold hatching.¹⁰ Fine gray pen strokes model and shade the faces, while a rose tone adds color to certain of the cheeks. Also, the Kansas artist renders his frequently slanted eyes meticulously. The eyelids are heavy and the eyebrows, eyelashes, or whites of eyes, prominent. An angular line usually forms the nose for these Kansas types, their necks are thick set, and their hands, sturdy. Glances and restrained gestures convey a mood of quiet solemnity in these religious scenes.

Young saints and angels, ideal types, are treated in grisaille, and the faces of saints like Saint John and the Virgin are delicately oval in shape, with finely arched eyebrows. Their eyes are characteristically heavy-lidded, veiled, bemused and downcast. The Virgin is typically elegant and graceful, with a small and sometimes somewhat smoothly rounded frame. The scenes of the Annunciation and the Nativity portray the Lady as a curvilinear type, almost in the International Style tradition.¹¹ Her features are especially dainty, her hair, of wavy ringlets which are highlighted in gold, and her youthful

hands, as in the Nativity scene, with long and slender fingers. The Virgin becomes less ideal with age, however, and in such scenes as the Crucifixion, Pentecost, the Flight into Egypt, and even the Coronation, she pales markedly.

The angels are often more mannered types, with swollen or protruding faces, high bulging foreheads, elongated bodies, and thick, claw-like hands. Some of these figures are characterized by a peculiar stance in which their inside legs are deeply bent and their knees thrust out.¹²

The Christ Child is the most archaic type, usually resembling either a homely massive little old man or else a mummy-like figure.¹³ In the representation of the Madonna and Child with Angels he is a more human figure, with cloak, but remains a dwarfed little man.

Finally, the older male saints and kings have extremely naturalistic faces, rendered in true flesh tones. The modelling and highlighting here is both heavier and coarser, as is the treatment of such features as eyebrows, noses, and so forth. Many of these figures are bearded, with mouths of which the corners droop to form a half-circle. The animals in these miniatures are rather bland, conventionalized creatures manifesting only a very general observation on the part of the executor.

The master of the Kansas Book of Hours is also noteworthy for his raw, acid color scheme. This artist has developed such muted, chalky tones as dusty rose, an extremely bright rusty-golden yellow, a maroon, a chartreuse, and a pale, washed blue green. Often he achieves a greater feeling for naturalism and impressionism in such tones, especially in the use of chartreuse and blue green forms in the land-

scapes.¹⁴ Such coloring relates the Kansas Hours to the latter half of the fifteenth-century.¹⁵ On the other hand, the colors are boldly dissonant, especially in interior scenes in which the deep maroon backdrop or dusty rose of certain garments conflicts with an orange-vermilion, a grass green, the bright golden yellow of an angel's garment, or the chartreuse in a checkered floor.

The large miniaturist for the Kansas University Book of Hours reflects the dualism of the archaic and the more progressive. As was mentioned above, his landscapes incorporate both dwarfed clump-like trees and atmospheric perspective, while his interiors manifest on the one hand, older Parisian tessellated screens and brocaded backdrops and on the other, linear perspective and implied space. Again, this artist's figure style comprises elements of extreme archaicism, graceful idealism, mannerism, and naturalistic realism. Nevertheless, despite his dualistic tendencies, there is a consistency in the art of these large miniatures which leads one to believe that the same artist executed all of them.¹⁶

The small miniatures all seem to have been executed by lesser workshop artists. The backgrounds are in the older ornamental tradition, with not even an experimental interest in perspective or in the rendering of landscape. The figure types are angular and more stylized, and the cooler colors are often in golds and blues, with pale blue-grayish flesh tones. The treatment on the whole is more summary than in the large miniatures.¹⁷ The roundel miniatures seem to relate more intimately to the art of the large miniaturist, and as been stated above, it is not uncommon for the latter to render his own roundel scenes. The colors are similar to those in the larger

Annunciation scene, and the figure types and settings, although less minutely rendered, seem to point to the hand of the master, or at least to a close assistant.

(The borders in the Kansas University Book of Hours are not merely decorative ornament but reflect the preoccupation with the naturalism of this late medieval world. Botanical features include references to the following: thistles, bell-flowers, wild geraniums, sweet peas, cornflowers, zinnias, lilies or irises, petunias, mustard flowers, Japanese lanterns, strawberries, cherries, grapes, pears or gourds, peas, pine cones, and acorns. It is interesting that the artist has observed that buds begin to blossom the closer they are to the full blooming flower. He also depicts strawberry leaves, and as some of his strawberries are half gold and half red, perhaps this illuminator has noted the appearance of that side of a strawberry which lies on the ground. Yet, for the most part, the wrong leaves appear with the flowers, and usually several types of flowers are growing on the same stem.¹⁸ The ornithological aspects of the border ornament also reveal an observance of the phenomena of nature. Noteworthy are the resemblances to the following: yellow hammers or civil buntings, peacocks, owls, warblers, robins or nightingales, woodchat shrikes, chaffinches, barn swallows, goldfinches, quails or partridges, night jars, hawks, falcons, wagtails, and kingfishers. The peacock and the owl are uniquely surly creatures, and this artist portrays such naturalistic scenes as birds searching for food, birds fighting insects and other birds, and in one instance, a bird feeding its young. Again, however, fantasy reigns and many of these creatures are purely colorful and imaginative.¹⁹ Finally of interest in marginal decoration are its

entomological aspects. Dragonflies, damselflies, mayflies, bees, and butterflies appear throughout. The rather incongruous, cumbersome fly illustrated near the top of the David in Prayer margin bears marked similarities to contemporary Flemish portrayals.²⁰ Animals in the borders are scant, but a wolf-type creature makes its appearance in the border of the Nativity page. In general, these illuminators are not as scientific as aesthetic in their renderings, and the naturalistic features in the Kansas borders are certainly free, and often lyrical and fanciful interpretations.²¹

There are several distinct styles in the border ornamentation of the Kansas Book of Hours which are spread throughout the manuscript. The variation could signify the development of the style of one illuminator, but it seems most likely that several artists have collaborated in the work.²² The differences from this division of labor are extremely marked and clear cut, and yet these artists have cooperated for a plan of organization, as each page manifests organic unity.

In the hand of illuminator number one the border consists of the traditional ivy bar and leaf flourishes, with fine black spurts of pen sprays. These tadpole-like wisps sometimes exist in space, but often are made more coherent by their connection to the larger green foliage, to the tridentate thorny leaves of burnished gold, and finally, to the threadlike tendril which meanders through the border. The overall effect is busy and lacy, minute and delicate. It is noteworthy that blue and gold scroll work and exquisite foliation predominate here, in contrast to the profuse naturalistic floriation and the insertion of various fauna, in the art of the other masters.²³

The motif of the illuminated borders of illuminator number two is

similar to that of the first artist, but the scale is larger, and the overall effect is much more massive and monumental. The sprays are more widely spaced, the scrolls are heavier, and floriation, foliation, and other aspects of naturalism preponderate.²⁴

Illuminator number three combines the artistic conventions of the earlier two artists. The style is minute and busy like that of artist number one, but with the prominently sized and colored leaves and flowers of number two.²⁵

The intensely busy decoration and the genre naturalism of the large miniature borders constitutes a fourth style of ornamentation. Even these miniature borders manifest stylistic variations, but it seems logical here to interpret a development of one artist's style, that of artist number four. Certain of these miniature borders are outlined in red and portray a massive and heavy design, interspersed with brightly colored and variegated flora and fauna.²⁶ In other scenes the decoration is more minutely busy and the border composition seems overworked. [The tiny specks of burnished gold overwhelm the color itself.²⁷ The border embellishment of the Annunciation and David in Prayer miniatures composes bright green, blue and yellow foliation and floriation, and hence, the burnished gold specks lose their former position of supreme importance.

✓ The initial specialist employs orange and blue stylized flowers on a gold ground, a conservative type which survived throughout the century.²⁸

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. This writer has studied the following Bedford works on black and white microfilm positives:
 Pierpont Morgan Mss. 453 and 359.
 the British Museum Horae Ms. 18850.
 Austrian National Library Mss. 1855, 1840, and 2614.
 See Appendix II for descriptions of the individual miniatures.
2. See Appendix I.
3. See the elf and snail-like drolleries in the borders of the Annunciation and David in Prayer scenes.
4. Also see the David in Prayer scene.
5. Yet, this artist is not aware of seasonal changes.
6. Miner, loc. cit. Yet, she states that such a landscape is merely a development of the sort of thing seen in the workshops of Jean and François Colombe, toward the end of the fifteenth-century.
7. See the following scenes: the Flight into Egypt, the Coronation of the Virgin, David in Prayer, and the Funeral scene.
8. The representation of the foreshortened furniture is most apparent in the following scenes: Saint Luke, Saint Matthew, the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the Coronation of the Virgin, Pentecost, the Funeral scene, and the scene of the Madonna and Child with Angels. The checkered floors appear throughout, and the window views and openings into the exterior are to be seen in the following scenes: Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the scene of Pentecost. In connection with the device of implied space see William Wixom, "Twelve Masterpieces of Medieval and Renaissance Book Illumination," Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin, LI, 1964, p. 56. He specifically mentions the Master of Flémalle and the Zweder Master.
9. For the Parisian tessellated screen see the following scenes: Saint Matthew, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the Madonna and Child with Angels. For the use of the popular brocaded backdrop see Saint Luke, Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the Coronation of the Virgin, Pentecost, the Funeral scene, and the scene of the Madonna and Child with Angels.
10. See the following: Saint Luke and his Bull, Saint Mark and his

Lion, Melchior in the Adoration of the Magi, the servant in the Presentation in the Temple, the angel to the left of the Madonna in the Madonna and Child with Angels, and the Angel to the left of Christ in the Last Judgment.

11. See also the figure of Saint Mark.
12. See the following: Saint Matthew's angel, the Archangel Gabriel in the Annunciation, the angel lute player in the Coronation, the male shepherd in the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the kneeling Magi in the Adoration of the Magi, and various apostle figures in the Pentecost scene.
13. See respectively the scenes of the Presentation in the Temple and the Flight into Egypt.
14. See especially the impressionistic, misty quality in the David in Prayer and the Crucifixion scenes.
15. Miner, loc. cit.
16. Ibid. Miss Miner agrees. Like many other works at this time (even Bedford miniatures) the scene of the Last Judgment is a more stylized, schematic one. Thus, the major artist could have been responsible for such a representation, although on the other hand, as Professor Spencer, loc. cit., verifies, such a difference in design could be accounted for by the different sources from which the shop's working patterns have come. As Dr. Panofsky states, op. cit., p. 49, "workshops, however progressive, often continued to conform to the old practice, even while experimenting with the new. Even in the Ducicaut Hours natural skies alternate with tessellated, diapered or otherwise patterned grounds, and the latter can be observed almost throughout the fifteenth-century."
17. Professor Spencer, loc. cit. states, from her observation of the black and white photographs of the miniature pages, "I think I detect a slight difference of script as well as of pictorial style in the Ad Laudes page and the two enlarged details. The rose arbor back of the Virgin and Child and the style of the Holy Face and its radiance, as well as the border of the Ad Laudes page all seem relatively "late."
18. See Appendix.
19. See Appendix.
20. See Appendix.
21. See the whimsical snail and elf-like figures in the Annunciation and David in Prayer borders. Aborigines accompany these drolleries on the Annunciation page.

22. Both Dr. Spencer, loc. cit., and Miss Miner, loc. cit., have stated that borders are often painted by different hands in the shop, as well as by one hand which grows careless or tired.
23. The style of illuminator number one may be seen in the following pages: 1-24, 41-44, 47-50, 335-338.
24. See the pages of the Holy Face and the Ad Laudes page. See also pages 26-27, 29-30, 37-40, 58-59, 60-63, 64-81, 81-88, 91-92, 99-101, 105-106, 119, 121-123, 124-127, 129-236, 116-201, 209-213, 227-228, 245-250, 255-260, 316-318, 325, 339-340.
25. See the small miniature of the Madonna and Child. See also pages 45-46, 51-52, 89-90, 96-98, 103-104, 107-108, 112-118, 138, 153-160, 166, 109-110, 139-151, 204-208, 215-226, 230-244, 251-254, 261-314, 319, 324, 327-334.
26. See the scenes of Saint John on Patmos, Saint Mark, Saint Luke, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Crucifixion, the Madonna and Child with Angels, and the Last Judgment.
- 27/ Miss Miner, loc. cit., notes that the difference between regular borders and those framing the miniatures was quite usual, as "the intention was to stress the illustrated pages by special elaboration, and also it was necessary to harmonize the colors of the borders on those pages with the miniatures."
27. See the scenes of Saint Matthew, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Flight into Egypt, the Coronation of the Virgin, and Pentecost.
- 28.) Miner, loc. cit. She states that the elements of the initials "were often assigned even to a series of specialists in this kind of illumination--one doing the drawing, another the gilding, and perhaps someone else coming through with the colors to fill in and finish the foliate forms."

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The Kansas University Book of Hours bears certain superficial similarities to the Bedford oeuvre; yet, the striking differences between these two place the former in a much later tradition.¹ Iconographic likenesses in both landscapes and interiors are apparent since the two groups follow the orthodox representational traditions for Books of Hours.² The borders consist of thorny tridentate leaves and contain similar flowers and plants.

Stylistically the two groups also bear certain affinities. The miniatures in the Bedford and Kansas works overwhelm the page and are organized in arched compartments, with gold rays emanating from above. Furthermore, the landscapes and interiors in the two schools have archaic as well as progressive features.³ The figure style in both the Kansas and Bedford groups consists of solid graceful figures, with heavy and ample drapery folds, but with a fluttering hemline drapery and a curvilinearity in certain figures which recalls the International Style. Finally, the faces in the two are gray-shaded and pink-toned for color, with carefully executed eyes and heavy eyelids.⁴

The dissimilarities between the Kansas Hours and the Bedford works are significantly clear. The roundels appear in both groups, but they are restricted to the Annunciation page of the Kansas manuscript. Moreover, such a device was taken over by many fifteenth-century

shops, and the reflection here is probably several times removed from the Bedford device.⁵ Also, the artist of the Kansas Hours is more strictly religious while the Bedford group delights in secular and bourgeois additions.⁶

Stylistic analysis provides fruitful differences in composition, organization and representation of space, figure style, and coloring. The Kansas compositions tilt further down toward the horizon, and the overall effect is calm, plain, and assymetrical. The Bedford compositions, on the other hand, are vertical, lively, dramatic, and many-peopled. They are both more monumental and more pictorial than the Kansas miniatures. As for the organization of space, both compositions are exterior-interior. Yet, the Kansas artist does not dwarf his buildings as does the Bedford Master, nor does he follow the latter's Boucicaut devices of portraying side gables and roof top views at the same time, or of portraying ecclesiastical interiors. Again, the Kansas artist's representation of space manifests a pronounced feeling for atmospheric perspective, with his deep recessions and illusionistic far distant backgrounds, while the Bedford group shows a limited space and a greater predilection for a dexterous linear perspective. The figure types differ in that the Kansas beings seem dry, cold and clumsy in comparison with the more human, robust, and emotional Bedford figures. Yet, the former are ideal types whose glances convey a mood of serenity and solemnity which is lacking in the genre-like, gesturing oeuvre of the latter. Finally, the coloring differs in the two groups, as the Kansas colors are restrained and somewhat chalky tones enlivened by highlights of gold and create bold dissonances in the composition. On the other hand, the Bedford group employs bold, vivid color harmonies.⁷

The simplicity and economy of the Kansas Hours is more medieval than the work of the Bedford group. It imparts a spiritual quality which is lacking in the more secular, technically perfect, luxurious and often overwhelming compositions of the older virtuoso. Although many features refer to experimental and retrospective traditions, the Kansas artist also looks beyond the Bedford group to later, more progressive developments.

The attribution of the Kansas Book of Hours to the Bedford group was based on such superficial features as the saints invoked⁸ and the appearance of roundels in the borders.⁹ Stylistic features, on the other hand, link the book with a period between 1470-80.¹ Accordingly, this artist has been shown to reflect both established and sometimes archaic traditions and also the greater concern of his own time with volume and spatial rendering.

Stylistic analysis also relates the Kansas artist to a group of Maitre François followers,¹⁰ but to a provincial French school rather than to the direct François workshop. The mannerism and exaggerated treatment in the figure and facial types and the employment of strong, dull colors are the hallmarks of both the Kansas University artist and the provincial artists in late fifteenth-century France.¹¹

The landscape of rocky bent crags and misty blue distances connects the Kansas artist with the late fifteenth-century art of Jean Colombe. Yet, an analysis of the figure and facial types establishes the most direct and fruitful clues regarding the identity of the Kansas artist.

The miniatures in Chantilly Ms. 491 (see figure six) illustrating the City of God, both attributed to the workshop of Master François,

relate to certain Kansas types. The high foreheads and the delicately oval grisaille faces of the saints in this Celestial Court representation, with their gold hatched and stylized flowing ringlets, are similar to the Kansas Virgin of the Annunciation (see figure two), Nativity, Madonna and Angels, and the shepherdess in the Annunciation to the Shepherds (see figure three). It is also interesting to compare the heavily shaded face of the monk in black in the second row of this Chantilly Manuscript to that of the acolyte in the Kansas Presentation in the Temple (see figure four), or to that of Gaspar in the Adoration of the Magi. Finally, a resemblance is apparent between the childlike tilt of the head of the bearded figure to the right on the second row of the Chantilly Manuscript and that of the David figure in the initial of the Kansas Ad Laudes page. Yet, the composition of this Celestial Court miniature is unlike that of the Kansas miniatures. It is more technically dexterous in its crowded and vertical emphasis.

Chantilly Ms. 461, fol. 214 (see figure four) also bears stylistic analogies with the Kansas miniatures. The types in both works are heavy and solid, and the bearded figures correspond with the Kansas bearded Evangelists. Yet, both schools include certain clumsy, mannered figures. The awkward seated middle ground figures in the Cicero miniature relate to certain of the Kansas stances (see the Kansas Angel of St. Matthew, the St. Joseph of the Nativity scene, the Archangel Gabriel, and the male shepherd in the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds (see figure three). Also, in both works certain of the figures are doll-like and curvilinear (compare the Cicero philosopher seated at his desk to the Kansas St. Mark, see figure one). Finally, the Kansas St. Luke, Annunciation, and Presentation scenes

and the Cicero scene both portray checkered floors, Italianate lead-barred windows, brocaded backdrops, and even somewhat similar furniture (compare the Cicero writing-desk to that of St. Mark). Yet, as with the Ms. 491, fol. 209^v miniature, here the perspective is more extravagant. Thus, although stylistic analogies exist between the François workshop and the Kansas artist, the former is characterized by its technical dexterity, its often monotonously decorative features, and its lack of interest in atmosphere--all removed from the Kansas tradition.

The style of the Kansas Master also resembles that of a certain Jacques de Besançon, active around the latter half of the fifteenth-century. Both artists employ a profuse use of gold hatching for both modelling and highlighting. Similar, too, is the distinction between men and women, with brownish faces for the former, and white-toned faces for the latter. The two depictions of landscapes often manifest perspective faults in the foreground, but their backgrounds are deep horizons bathed in a soft light.¹² Many of Besançon's compositions consist of large groups, but a particularly close compositional resemblance is apparent in a comparison of Besançon's the Presentation in the Temple, from the Hours of Le Jay, circa 1492 (see figure eight) with the Kansas Presentation in the Temple. Similar is the temple setting itself, the placement of the altar table, the Italianate windows, and the brocaded screen. Yet, the two miniatures differ. The Le Jay miniature types are more refined and stereotyped and reveal less observation of the individual model than do the Kansas types. Also, although the borders in the two consist of similar foliage and blue and gold curling palmettes, the 1494 miniature follows the popular

late fifteenth-century device of compartmentalization. The above differences place the Kansas work at least a decade earlier than the Le Jay miniature. Thus, the Kansas artist is not associated with Jacques de Besançon.

The Kansas University Book of Hours seems to bear more lucid resemblances to work done in eclectic provincial French schools around 1470-80. The Missal of Jean Rolin (see figure nine) compares with certain features in the Kansas Hours. The Rolin Crucifixion Magdalene and the Kansas female shepherdess in the Annunciation to the Shepherds scene both manifest unique mannered, protruding faces. Also, the dress worn by this Magdalene corresponds to that worn by the Kansas Presentation servant. Again, both the provincial and the Kansas works figure landscapes with castles, winding roads and dwarfed trees. One cannot link the Kansas Hours with this particular workshop, as the composition of the latter is both more crowded and the space of the landscape more limited; yet, such provincial work is at least a step nearer to the hand of the Kansas Hours, and the analogies serve to underline the eclecticism of these local schools.

The rugged, down-to-earth simplicity connects the Kansas miniatures with the tastes of an average layman rather than with the refined elegance of aristocratic connoisseurs. However, despite the fact that the Kansas types are related to a provincial school and not to one of great courtly refinement, the miniatures are not merely lifeless and conventional stereotypes, as is often the case with eclectic schools in the late fifteenth-century. Rather, the simple honesty of this work lends the Kansas University Hours of the Virgin a powerful and unique quality which is worthy of considerable artistic merit.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Compare Kansas miniatures to figure five of the Bedford oeuvre.
2. In the latter, landscapes are castellated hills and often above are busts of God the Father and Angels with banderolles. The former portray cardhouse type shed roofs, wattle fences, canopies, checkered floors, tessellated backdrops, tasseled pillows, and the type of the servant in the Presentation in the Temple scene. Note, however, that such iconographic details are extremely common and appear in innumerable fifteenth-century French and Netherlandish panel paintings and miniatures.
3. The landscapes in both combine dwarfed foreground trees with an understanding of nature, while the interiors blend the more archaic tessellated screens with an understanding of linear perspective.
4. Divided beards on the older men in the Kansas Hours are a popular feature in the fifteenth-century tradition.
5. Miner, loc. cit., and Spencer, loc. cit.
6. The concept of floating fantasy figures and figures springing from flowers or snails appears only twice in the Kansas manuscript.
7. Porcher, loc. cit., Trenkler, loc. cit.
8. See note 1. of chapter one.
9. The latter has been established as merely a popular fifteenth-century device.
10. In his letter to this writer dating March 29th, 1965, Professor Otto Pächt pointed out stylistic analogies with works from the atelier of Master François: See Ms. fr. 491 in Chantilly, figure seven. As was stated in chapter one, Master François was, in a manner of speaking, an artistic descendant of the Bedford Master.
11. Pächt, loc. cit. See, for example, the Missal of Jean Rolin, figure nine.
12. See Durrieu, Un Grand Enlumineur Parisien au XV^e Siècle: Jacques Besançon et son oeuvre, Paris, 1892, plate I, the Martyrdom of Saint Ursula, from the Miroir historial du duc de Nemours (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 51, fol. 389).

APPENDIX I

Organization and Practical Aspects of the Book of Hours

APPENDIX I

ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE BOOK OF HOURS

The prayer book for nobility is divided into sections to be said or sung at the canonical hours, equivalent to the Horae of the Romans, which were divisions of the full day of twenty-four hours into eight periods of three, yet each called an hour. These hours are Matins (from twelve to three), Lauds (from three to six), Prime (from six to nine), Tierce (from nine to twelve), Sext (from twelve to three, None (from three to six), Vespers (from six to nine), and Compline (from nine to twelve). In the Kansas University Book of Hours the following scenes represent the above hours, respectively: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, and the Coronation of the Virgin (there is no Visitation scene). The Horae Beatae Marias Virginis is here, as is generally the rule, preceded by a Calendar and a Lesson from each of the Four Gospels (represented by portraits of the Four Evangelists). Following these Hours are the Seven Penitential Psalms, and then Litany and Prayers (represented by a scene of David in Prayer); the Hours of the Sanctus Spiritus or Holy Ghost (represented by a scene of the Pentecost); the Hours of the Cross (represented by a scene of the Crucifixion); the Vigils of the Dead or Officium Defunctorum (here represented by a scene of a Funeral

Service and a scene of the Last Judgment); and finally, Memorials of Saints (here represented by a scene of the Virgin and Child with two angels, illustrating the prayer, Douce Dame).

An illuminated manuscript is one enriched with gold and colors, in miniatures, in borders wholly or partially enclosing the text, and in ornamental initials. By the fifteenth-century, what is left of the text is completely dominated by the decoration and the miniatures.

Often the separate tasks for illumination were designated as follows: the scribe copied the text and also wrote on the lower (sometimes the upper) margin of the last leaf of each quire, the first word of the page of the next quire (this is often termed the catchword). Hence, the binder could tell the sequence of the quires by a glance at these two words. The rubricator who wrote in red (hence, his name) was responsible for titles, colophons (concluding notes), lists of chapters, headlines, and so forth. Finally, the ornamentation and illustration was often divided into three areas. The enlumineur was responsible for the purely decorative part, the historieur, for the miniatures (histoires), and the craftsman who did the borders was sometimes called vigneteur, the word vignette (from vigne, vine scroll) being the proper term for "border." "Miniatures were originally the paragraph signs, versals, capitals, headings, and so forth, all of which were put in in red in manuscripts. The men who put these in sometimes did illustrative and decorative drawings and paintings besides, and these came to be called miniatures too."¹ Although there was much collaboration in the various ateliers, it was the chef d'atelier who directed and inspired.

Parchment or vellum is the carrier and ground in medieval painting,

and was commonly employed in Books of Hours. A vellum manuscript in codex form, like any book, is composed of a number of gatherings or quires. Each quire consists of a number of sheets of vellum, each folded into two leaves (four pages) and placed one inside another. Commonly one finds flesh side (the inner side) bound facing flesh side and hair side (the outer side) facing hair side, so that the appearance (color and texture) of facing pages is identical, forming a uniform double-spread. There were two kinds of pen used, a reed-pen and a quill pen, while the ink was probably of gallic acid, with sulphate of iron and gum. In order to space the page for ruling, an awl was used to prick holes down each side of the page, and a hard, dry stilus to connect the holds.²

Favorite colors at this time were gold, red, blue, and less commonly green, purple, yellow, white, and black, and the surface of the border pages was often mirror-like and metallic, with its dots of burnished gold. It is readily apparent that manuscript painting was by the fifteenth-century a luxury trade in which "richness and elaboration, elegance and succulence of color were of prime consideration."³

"The design was first drawn in outline and then a water-mordant often termed Size was used as a binding medium so that the gold leaf would stick. Ingredients for this medium included an adhesive, such as gum, glair, or size; a colouring agent such as saffran or ochre (often the term for this was a kind of red earth or clay called bole); something to make bulk such as chalk; and some hygroscopic agent such as honey, to keep the mixture from drying too quickly and becoming too hard. Finally, after it was beaten into foil and the foil then gradually beaten out thinner and thinner, the gold leaf was laid on the

mordant and pressed down lightly. When the mordant was dried and hard enough the surface was burnished with a smooth tooth or stone. Finally, the other colors were ready to be laid on and the gold itself was either surrounded with color or at least outlined with color or ink, in order to make the gold look brighter."⁴

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

1. David V. Thompson, The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1956, p. 102. He states also that "the origins of the word miniature may be traced to the word miniare, which meant to work with minium (that is, either orange lead or red sulphide of mercury): a person who worked with minium was called a miniator and the things that he was to miniate were called miniatura."
2. Falconer Madan, Books in Manuscript, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., London, 1932, pp. 11, 14, 37.
3. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 143, 145. It is noteworthy that the earlier medieval custom of color grinding, with either porphyry or marble, soon gave way to the effects of the color turnsole (from the seeds of the morella plant): "It was prepared in the form of 'clothlets', bits of cloth saturated with the juice of the seed of capsules . . . all one had to do was to put a bit of clothlet into a dish and wet it with a little glair or gum water, and the color would dissolve out of the cloth into the medium, forming a transparent stain . . . with clothlet colors came the technical degradation of manuscript painting, and in the fifteenth century the transparency of colors was over emphasized, to the detriment of form and significance."
4. Ibid., pp. 197, 204, 219.

APPENDIX II

Descriptions of the Large and Small Miniatures

APPENDIX II

THE LARGE MINIATURES

Saint John on Patmos: Folio 13^r; 3 3/4" x 5 3/4" (in each case the height precedes the width).

Saint John is a contrapposto figure in a blue garment with a rose-colored cloak. He is seated on the green grass of rocky Patmos writing his Gospel. This beardless figure bears a thin, oval face, en grisaille, which is shaded with light gray hatching. His eyes are heavy-lidded and slanted, his eyelashes prominent, his eyebrows thinly arched, and his hair, flowing. Above John is his common attribute, the eagle, and below is the silver-gray devil who appears to be stealing the inkhorn. From the middle ground soar brownish-gray rocks, on which lie castles and green shrub pines, and both ground and trees are speckled with yellow weeds and flowers. The far background manifests a progressive understanding of perspective, with winding roads and fading, greenish-blue misty colors. The sky itself, figured with gold stars, pales towards the horizon, from a rich cobalt blue to white.

Saint Luke the Evangelist: Folio 14^v; 3 3/4" x 5 1/2".

Saint Luke is in a blue garment with an ermine-lined orange-colored cloak which is highlighted by gold hatching. He writes his Gospel while seated on a chest-like chair, with a blue

tasseled cushion underneath his feet. This bearded saint is a more naturalistic figure than was the ideal Saint John, rendered in truer flesh tones, and even the white of his carefully wrought eyes is apparent. His features are rugged, with heavy eyebrows and mouth of which the corners are turned down to form a half-circle. Beside Saint Luke is his winged ox, its brown body highlighted by gold hatching. Also represented is an altar table with white altar cloth and on which is a candlestick and a cup. The setting is an Italian-like interior, with wooden arcaded motifs on the door and black zig-zag lead bars composing the windows. The floor is a checkered green, and framing Saint Luke is a blue canopy, the back-interior of which is red decorated with gold stars. A maroon brocaded backdrop with gold incized foliation forms the middle ground of this composition.

Saint Matthew the Evangelist: Folio 16^v; 3 3/4" x 5 1/2".

Saint Matthew is in a blue garment with a dusty rose colored cloak lined in gold. He is seated at his desk writing his Gospel, ink-horn in hand. Matthew's bearded face is even a deeper flesh color than Saint Luke's, and the highlights are brought out with white. He is certainly individualistically rendered, with his squatty profile and the bald spot on his head. The white winged angel is clothed in bright rusty golden yellow and he holds up a book with his claw-like hands. This protruding face en grisaille is hatched in gray with red highlights. Again, the interior floor is green checkered and the gold incized foliated backdrop, a maroon or deep red shade. Above, a tessellated screen in colors of gold, blue and maroon, fills in the arched compartment.

Saint Mark the Evangelist: Folio 18^v; 3 3/4" x 5 3/4".

Saint Mark is in a blue garment with a gold hatched vermillion cloak. He is seated on a high-backed wooden chair, the gray center of which is decorated with gold incizing. Above is a pink baldachin decorated with a gold motif, and the center of which is a bright green color. Beside Mark is a peculiar brownish waste basket and a griffin type lion, both of which are high-lighted by gold hatching and which serve to complete the arching circle begun by the figure of the saint. The temple stone interior is pierced with Moorish-shaped windows, and again we see the standard green checkered floor and the maroon brocaded backdrop. New, however, is a view into the far distant landscape through an arched window opening.

The Annunciation: Folio 29^r; 3 3/4" x 5 1/2".

The Madonna, in blue, kneels on her rose tasseled pillow, her hands together. She is a small-framed, graceful, ideal type, as was the young Saint John. Rose and gray lines model her delicately oval grisaille face, and her eyes are heavy-lidded, with finely arched eyebrows. The Archangel Gabriel stands before the Madonna with banderolle and with the sceptre which indicates his sovereignty. His white wings are tipped with blue, and his white garment is covered with an elegant gold bordered red cope-like cape which is highlighted by gold hatching. This angel is a rather mannered type, as was the Saint Matthew Angel, with protruding face and peculiar stance, and with the inside leg deeply bent. Above, through the window, a bust of God the Father emanates gold rays and the Dove of the Holy Spirit appears from his position in the

night sky. The setting is a wooden ceiled interior temple, with altar table, prie-dieu, and canopy with curtained areas of red, blue, and chartreuse. Again figured are the brocaded deep red backdrop and the green and chartreuse checkered floor.

The Nativity: Folio 51^v; 3 3/4" x 5 3/4".

The Virgin in blue kneels with crossed hands before the massive nude Child below ^{her}, and both figures are placed on the gold-hatched red drapery covering the high-backed throne. From behind this throne emerge the heads of the ox and ass. Ruddy-complexioned Joseph in rose-colored shepherd's attire with a gray-blue collar, and with his staff kneels in the mannered position of the Archangel Gabriel and the Matthew Angel. The scene is inside a shed, the torn thatched roof of which reminds one of the roof in the Dijon Nativity by the Master of Flémalle. Behind the foreground group is a blue decorated curtain, to add elegance to this humble setting, and through the wooden doorway lies a view of the far distant landscape, with misty winding roads.

The Annunciation to the Shepherds: Folio 56^r; 4" x 5 1/2".

The shepherdess is in a simple white long sleeveless cote, with rose-colored sleeves (the style relates to the peasant women in the Calendar scene for June from the Très Riches Heures, ca. 1416). Her tall spear-like crook adds a vertical emphasis to the composition. The shepherd is dressed in a gray-blue tunic-like smock, belted with a cord, and in black boots and above the knee socks (one of which has a hole). He carries a horn and a bag which probably contains food for his wife, his dog, and for himself. Behind this shepherd are his sheep, dwarfed trees, and further back are

curvilinear rocks and then the usual background landscape which recedes into smokiness. Above, the angel with banderolle and adorned in popular bright golden yellow appears from a half-circle of burnished gold.

The Adoration of the Magi: Folio 60^v; 4" x 5½".

The blue-cloaked Madonna is seated on her high-backed throne which is covered by gold-hatched red drapery. She extends the Child to Melchior, an exotic type, in brown garment highlighted with gold hatching, and bearing a gray pointed beard. He offers gold to the little King. Gaspar, in the center, is in a rose-colored fashionable houppelande, with sleeves padded at the top and fitted at the wrist, with raised gray collar, and with a dark gray lambskin-type hat which also fits the contemporary scene. This second wise man is beardless and of lighter complexion than the other two magi, and he honors Christ the God with frankincense (to manifest Christ's divinity). Balthasar is the third Magi, clothed in gray-blue with a bright green cape which is lined and collared in white. This magi with the squarish beard offers myrrh to honor Christ the mortal. Beside the Virgin is a wattle fence, and from behind her throne appear the heads of the ox and ass. The setting is in a stony shed, with wooden roof pierced with holes and with chartreuse-toned ground, but again the blue decorative curtain adds elegance to this humble scene. The wooden doorway opens to the blue night sky, below which are rocks and a dwarfed clump-like tree.

The Presentation in the Temple: Folio 64^v; 3 ¾" x 5½".

The Virgin in blue is about to present the bulky and awkward contrapposto Christ Child to the High Priest, who is in a rose-colored

cape-like ecclesiastical vestment. This Priest also represents Simeon, because of his halo. An acolyte in a rich green garment with a rose-colored cap assists this priest. The servant to the right wears a bright red gold-hatched dress and a bourrelet padded white head-dress, with a train hanging down in back. She is reminiscent of certain Flémallesque ladies. The setting is a stone temple, with Italianate arches and arcaded windows. Again figured is the chartreuse and green checkered floor and the maroon foliated backdrop. Here, too, the flesh-toned faces of the men contrast markedly with the whitish complexioned women and the Child.

The Flight into Egypt: Folio 69^r; 3 3/4" x 5 3/4".

The paler, more fatigued-looking Madonna, in blue, is seated on the lumbering gray ass and holds the mummy-like Child. Joseph, in his gray-blue cloak, black cap, goldish colored boots, and with a red cloth slung over his staff, looks back with an expression of dour concern. Miniature clump-like trees are in the foreground plane, while the middle ground area figures curving rocks, similar to those in the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds (only these rocks are covered with chartreuse grass). In the far distant landscape is a tiny windmill.

The Coronation of the Virgin: Folio 76^v; 3 3/4" x 5 3/4".

The Divine Son holding the orb, is clothed in orange-vermilion with a green lined gray-blue cloak, and is seated on the large canopied throne, his feet resting on a golden tasseled cushion. The pale Virgin in blue (with a gold collar) kneels on her rose-colored tasseled cushion while a standing angel in bright golden

yellow places the crown on her head. The other angel, in a grayish-white, is in a peculiar mannered pose while playing the lute. The floor is checkered green, the canopy, a maroon roofed with green, and the backdrop here is blue with gold motifs. Here, too, tessellation fills in the arched compartments. The master's predilection for solemn faces and slanted, heavy-lidded eyes is well illustrated in this scene.

David in Prayer: Folio 83^r, 2 3/4" x 4 1/2".

Naturalistic David, in rose and blue, with bright rusty yellow sleeves, is seated on the ground, praying, his large sized harp and hat (like Gaspar's hat in the Adoration of the Magi) before him. Again we see dwarfed foreground trees and a rocky landscape which proceeds into a deep misty one. It is noteworthy that the modulated use of green results in an impressionistic interpretation of the far distant landscape. From the far-off gallows a microscopic figure hangs. God the Father is above, in a half-circle of dark red; he bears a resemblance to similar representations by the Boucicaut Master.

Pentecost: Folio 102^r; 3 3/4" x 5 3/4".

The blue-coated, pale, aged Virgin looks up from her central position while the apostles are grouped on either side of her. It is noteworthy that although the youthful Madonna is an ideal type, She becomes more realistic with age. Above, the Dove of the Holy Spirit appears radiating 'cloven tongues like as of fire.' This scene is in a vaulted stone chamber, with a green checkered floor (on which is spread an open book) and a maroon foliated backdrop.

The Crucifixion: Folio 107^V; 4 3/4" x 4 3/4".

In the Northern tradition, the aged, ashen Madonna (in blue) and the individualistically rendered St. John, with heavy jewels and pointed nose, stand on either side of the emaciated Christ, who is wrapped in a diaphanous loin veil. The spurting blood, the barren rocks, and the skeletons and bones below enhance the feeling of cold morbidity. In the far distant landscape a double gallows is visible.

A Funeral Service: Folio 115^R; 3 3/4" x 5 3/4".

The labourer, in gray-blue with rusty-yellow sleeve lays the corpse in the ground, while to the right a priest in richly decorated blue and gold cape officiates. Pleurants in black and the Dominican monk in white look on. As in the Crucifixion scene skull and bones lie on the ground. A peach-colored Italianate church with silver roof and windows and a maroon backdrop form the middle ground, while the background consists of a hilly landscape.

The Madonna and Child and Angels: Folio 158^R; 4" x 5 1/2".

The Madonna, in blue, is seated on a gold colored tasseled cushion while the Child, in a rose garment, stands on her lap and reaches for the offerings from the angel in the red garment with the white goldish tipped wings. The other angel, in brown with a red-tipped wing visible, plays with twine. Again, these angel types are mannered figures with their protruding faces. The artist again represents the green checkered floor, the rose canopy figured with gold stars, the blue backdrop incized with gold, and the tessellated screen.

The Last Judgment: Folio 163^v; 3 3/4" x 5 1/2".

Christ, draped in rose, is seated on the orb, in the midst of the schematic gold-starred blue sky, his feet resting on the globe.

The angels Michael and Gabriel (one in green with white wings tipped in rose and the other in red, highlighted in gold, with white wings tipped in green) herald Him with trumpets, while the male and female dead rise from holes in the ground.

APPENDIX: THE SMALL MINIATURES

God the Father: Folio 38^v; 1" x 1 1/2".

This bust is more painterly and hastily executed than were the facial types of the large miniatures. Unlike the other faces it is more rectangular in shape, and the eyebrows form a straight line. Also, the pale pink flesh tones are modelled roughly in white, with red-toned cheeks. The beard is divided, and the hair, straight and highlighted by gold hatching. The gold and blue background underline the more archaic treatment of this miniature.

Madonna and Child: Folio 45^r; 1 1/4" x 3/4".

The Madonna is in gold with a blue cape, and she is seated on a green ground. The colors are cool, and especially unique here is the grayish cast for the flesh of both figures. In general, this miniature is, like the God the Father miniature, more summarily rendered, not only in the figure types, but in the background, which here consists of specks of red, light green, and dusty rose against a green ground.

The rondels on the Annunciation Page: Folio 29^r.

These scenes relate to the life of the Virgin: Joachim (in rose) in Prayer in the wilderness, Joachim (in red with gray-blue cloak) and Anna (in blue with rose cloak), the Virgin Weaving, and the Marriage of the Virgin, with a portrayal of certain contemporary male figures (probably the rejected suiters) in short tunics tied at the waist and long tights. The colors employed for these rondels are not the cool colors characteristic of the other small miniatures, but rather are closer to the tradition of the large miniatures, with bright greens, reds, and blues. There is also

an attempt to portray landscape, and the figure types bear the characteristic oval faces which are white-skinned with gray hatching (not the gray-bluish cast of the Madonna and Child miniature). Many Apocryphal accounts of the Annunciation tell how the Virgin was engaged in making a veil for the temple when the Angel Gabriel appeared. "The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary" relates "and it came to pass in those days that the chief priests wished to make a veil for the temple. And they sent and brought Virgins to weave it, and they appointed Mary to help them weave it . . . and she worked always at the curtain which the high priest had delivered unto her." Saint Jerome mentioned that "from the early morning until the third hour of the day she occupied herself with weaving work." In the lower margins of the Annunciation page are several brown nude aborigines, highlighted in gold. Four of them bear bows and arrows, and one of them has a blow-horn. The nearby figure seems to be combatting the aborigines, with stick upraised. He wears a blue belted tunic and long rose-toned tights, and his hat is rose with a yellow rim. On the right hand margin is an angel harp player in a gold highlighted vermilion garment with blue-tipped white wings. Below him is the bust of an elf-like figure who springs from a scroll-spray, grasping flower and foliage stems. He wears a blue pointed hood-like cap and a gold incized vermilion garment.

The Ad Laudes Page: Folio 79^r; 1½" x 2¼".

These miniatures refer to the artistic conventions of a lesser artist, one who is aware of the master's naturalism and figure types, yet renders his scenes with less facility and understanding.

The colors are extremely cool, in rose pinks, blues and golds, with pale blue skies and washed out green grounds. Here, as in the Madonna and Child miniature, the flesh tints are gray-blue. Also here the skies are less modelled and naturalistic and the figure types are more angular. The David in Prayer initial scene imitates features in the larger miniature (the curving rock, the harp, the hat, and the far distant view), but David now bears a white beard and white hair, with a rather pixie-looking face. He is in gold, with a blue cape and a white collar. Unlike the large miniature, the landscape in the initial is stylized. The Visitation scene (Elizabeth is in rose with a blue cloak and white hood, and the young Mary is in gold with a blue mantle) and that of Joachim and Anna (Joachim is in blue, with a red cape, while Anna is in rose with a white hood) are similarly stiff, conventionalized figures, conveying neither the spiritual nor the becalmed expressiveness of the large miniature types. Also, the artist of this Ad Laudes page profusely models and highlights with gold hatching.

The David in Prayer Drolleries: Folio 83.

The figure on the left-hand margin, with a golden snail-like body and a blue jacket and pointed cap blows his bagpipe. The other two figures are on the ground, both with faces en grisaille. One wears a brown cap and gray blue jacket, and gestures to his neighbor with his curving snail-like belly on the rolling green terrain. The other figure in a yellow jacket cap which springs into a long-beaked bird's head, rides a round bellied, no-legged hobby horse. He carries a fantasy-type club which is topped with a little face, and his long pointed poulaine even extends beyond the border frame.

APPENDIX III

Identifiable Plants, Birds, and Insects

APPENDIX III

Identifiable Plants

Folio 1 ^r	thistle (<u>Genus Cirsium</u>) bell-flower (<u>Genus Campanula</u>)
Folio 2 ^r	Wild geranium
Folio 3 ^r	Sweet pea cornflower (<u>Genus Centaurea</u>)
Folio 4 ^v	zinnia
Folio 13 ^r	strawberry phlox
Folio 15 ^v	<u>Agrostemma Githago</u> (a different kind of cornflower) Mertensia
Folio 17 ^r	lily or iris
Folio 18 ^v	petunia green strawberry
Folio 38 ^v	red cherry
Folio 39 ^r	red bell flower
Folio 80 ^v	strawberry leaf
Folio 51 ^v	peas
Folio 52 ^r	pine cones
Folio 54 ^r	dandelion-type
Folio 84 ^v	mustard flower grapes
Folio 60 ^v	pears or gourds
Folio 87 ^r	honest effort to coordinate leaves and fruit
Folio 92 ^r	acorn
Folio 140 ^r	Japanese lantern (<u>genus Physalis</u> , the night shade family).

Identifiable Birds

- Folio 13^r yellow hammer (Emberiza Citrinella) or
cirl bunting (Emberiza Circlus) or
Linnet Spinus
- Folio 14^v peacock
- Folio 16^v scops owl (Odis Scops)
sub-Alpine warbler, robin, or nightengale
- Folio 18^r a siskin
- Folio 18^v woodchat shrike (Lanius Senator)
- Folio 45^r Chaffinch (Fringilla Coelebs)
- Folio 30 barn swallow
- Folio 51^v goldfinch (Carduelis Carduelis)
yellow hammer or black-headed bunting
- Folio 83^r quail or partridge
- Folio 102^r night jar (Caprimulgus europaeus)
- Folio 107^v hawk
- Folio 123^r peregrine falcon (Falco perigrinus)
- Folio 153^r wagtail (Motacilla)
- Folio 153^v kingfisher (Alsedo Atthis)

Identifiable Insects

Folio 13 ^r	dragon fly or damselfly (<u>Odonata</u> <u>Zygoptera</u>) (order) (suborder)
Folio 29 ^r	eleven may flies (<u>Ephemeridae</u>)
Folio 60 ^v	damselfly
Folio 64 ^v	butterfly (probably <u>Nymphalidae</u> or <u>Lycaenidae</u>)
Folio 83 ^r	<u>Odonata</u> <u>Zygoptera</u> <u>Agrionidae</u>)
Folio 115 ^r	fly or bee

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CORRESPONDENCE

Miner, Dorothy. Letter, March 27, 1965.

Pächt, Otto. Letter, March 29, 1965.

Spencer, Eleanor P. Letter, March 17, 1965.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Kansas University Book of Hours,
Saint Mark, fol. 18^v
Lawrence, Special Collections



In illo tempore. Recubentibus undecim discipulis apparuit illis ih̄s.

2. Kansas University Book of Hours,
The Annunciation, fol. 29^r
Lawrence, Special Collections



4. Kansas University Book of Hours,
The Presentation in the Temple, fol. 64^v
Lawrence, Special Collections



Deus in adiutorium meum
converte
Domine ad adiu-

5. Bedford Master, The Salisbury Breviary,
The Adoration of the Magi, Paris,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 17294, fol. 106.



6. Workshop of Master François, the City of God,
The Celestial Court, Chantilly,
Musée Condé, Ms. fr. 491, fol. 209^v, dated 1475.



Onfendeur saint au
 gusm outiers liure
 du credo dit quil sera
 si tresgrande difficulte
 a parler des biens qui
 ont en paradis et en la vie pardura
 ble que plus legerement et plus saur
 ment pouons nomer ce qui ny est roit
 non ou pauvreté ne indigence ne
 courroux ne tristesse. Dit vng dote
 nomme de vietri en la fin du pmer
 sermon de m squee en ceste maniere
 En la vie pardurable none voutres
 le souverain roy en sa beaulte. Non
 serons en la beaulte de pau et es ta
 bernacles de seurete. laideur du soleil

7. Workshop of Master François, the City of God,
Cicero, Treaty on Old Age, Chantilly,
Musée Condé, Ms. fr. 491, fol. 294, dated 1475.



Don ampatue. co
bien que je say cer
tamment que tu
ner point mut et
sout enu sanz neur

du gouuernement de la chose publiq
amfi comme est titus flaminus
consul de romme toutesuies ie ne
puis parler atoy par ces mesmes d
par le squez ce huiltant Enme

8. Jacques de Besançon, the Hours of Le Jay,
The Presentation in the Temple,
Collection Durrieu, dated 1494.



TELAI

Eius in adiutorium
meum intende
Comme ad adiuua
dum me festina
Gloria patri et filio et spui

9. Missal of Jean Rolin, Cardinal of Autun,
The Crucifixion,
Bibliothèque de Lyon, Ms. 517, fol. 183^v.

